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M. MINUCII FELICIS

*OCTAVIUS*

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*Quid O participes rationis audetis homines proloqui, quid effutire, quid promere temerarie vocis desperatione tentatis? Deum principem, rerum cunctarum quaecunque sunt dominum, summitatem omnium summorum obtinentem, adorare, obsequio venerabili invocare, in rebus fessis totis ut ita dixerim sensibus amplexari, amare, suspicere, execrabilis religio est et infesta, impietatis et sacrilegii plena, cærimonias antiquitus institutas novitatis suæ suspicione contaminans?—ARNOBIVS adversus Nationes, Liber I. cap. xxv.*

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# M. MINUCII FELICIS OCTAVIUS

THE TEXT NEWLY REVISED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.  
WITH AN ENGLISH COMMENTARY ANALYSIS  
INTRODUCTION AND INDICES

Edited for the Syndics of the University Press

BY THE

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EDITOR OF ARISTOPHANES

"Όπλα λαμβάνεις κατά διντικειμένης ἐνεργείας,  
ὅπλα λαμβάνεις κατά θύνων. Πολλοὺς ἔχθροὺς  
ἔχεις, πολλὰ βέλη λάμβανε.  
Cyril. Praefat. Catech.



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## P R E F A C E.

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A MONG the writings of the early Apologists of Christianity, it may be doubted whether (excepting the eight books of Origen against Celsus) there be any which has much stronger claims to our notice, it is certain that none has gained more admirers, than the Dialogue of Minucius Felix, which is known by the name of *Octavius*.

Considering the universal testimony which has been borne to the peculiar elegance, if not classical purity, of its style, it is only surprising that so valuable a treatise should have hitherto failed to find a place, as a Class-book, in our Schools and Universities, by the side of or as a substitute for some Pagan writer, of inferior claims<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The remarks of CELLARIUS in the Introduction to his Edition of this Dialogue, (A.D. 1726), where he is speaking *de usu antiquitatis Ecclesiastice Christianis scholis commendande*, will, I trust, be considered pertinent.

"Quapropter ita sentio, atque sic animum induco, non bene consuli Christianorum scholis, si ecclesiastici veteres scriptores, iisque puri ac elegantes, in iis omnes præstereantur: nec illarum fructus magnos esse experimur, ex quibus omnes sœcu-

lares sive ethnici exterminantur; sed utriusque generis auctores conjungendos esse censeo, ut ex Romanis priscis vera indeoles Latinitatis, ex Christianis, ejusdem usus melior perspiciat; quippe sancti quoque viri, quamquam qua sœculi sunt, contemserunt, sermonis tamen copiam et stili nitorem nequaquam neglexere, ut non tantum ad civiles res suas, sed ipsas etiam sacras, nec sine fructu eximio usi fuerint."

And again :

"Non puto multos esse qui con-

---

It is more easy, perhaps, to account for the neglect, of which we speak, from the want of a suitable and convenient edition, than it is for the existence of such a desideratum. Now that the attention of English students is becoming more and more drawn to these primitive records of Christian Theology, and an increasing interest is manifested in them, the fulfilment of such a requirement will probably be more acceptable than it would have been some years ago. I think, we may safely conclude that, regarded as a mere literary composition, the pure Latinity of the *Octavius*, reminding us perhaps, more than any other Ecclesiastical writing, of the golden days of Latin Prose, will serve to make any attempt at illustrating it welcome to the classical Scholar, while its attractive form will secure for it the attention of the general reader. But the Theological Student will see that it possesses still further and higher claims to his attention: for besides these acknowledged merits, it has the advantage of containing an admirably clear and condensed Summary of the arguments for and against Christianity, which were current in

tra nos negatum eant, e re scholarum fore et Christianorum, si amotis impudicis libris, et amorum fabulis illecebrosis, seculares auctores optimi retineantur, iisque ex ecclesia jungantur qui purioris sermonis

amantes, elegantia non minus rem litterariam, quam profani possint adjuvare. Ut quae sentio planius exponam, cum Cicerone velim LACTANTIUM illius imitatorem componi, aut si hic uberior quam pro

the beginning of the third Century : and therefore it serves as an excellent introduction to the study of the writings of the other Apologists both Greek and Latin.

But, taking for granted the superior value of this dialogue, additional testimony to which, if needed, might easily be adduced, I proceed to offer a few remarks on the plan which has been pursued by me in the present edition.

It is unfortunate that there is only one known MS. of Minucius extant. This is now in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, where, by the kind permission and assistance of M. HASE, Keeper of the MSS., I made a careful examination of it; a task rendered necessary by the variance existing between the collations hitherto made. Further observations on this MS. are reserved for the Introduction. I have now only to say that in my text I have adhered as closely as was possible to it, except in the matter of orthography. In the few passages which seemed to bid defiance to all construing, I have substituted such conjectural emendations, as appeared most probable; in others, to

captu adolescentis videatur, MINUCIUM FELICEM, nihil Lactantio nitore stili concedentem, argumento parem, brevitate multum complexa juventuti gratiorem, quæ brevia secutur, ne longitudine et copia statui

nondum confirmatæ aliquod tedium suboriatur."

ERNESTI, in his Preface to Lindner's edition, writes in a similar strain.

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which some meaning, though doubtful, could be attached, I have contented myself with mentioning various readings and critical suggestions in the notes, my desire being to avoid as much as possible tampering with the text of my author, which, I believe, is not so corrupt as previous Editors assume it to be. For, as <sup>2</sup>Schönemann justly observes, '*tot emendatores nactus est Octavius, quam editores.*'

The Commentary is intended to explain the text; but, as this Edition is designed for the use of younger as well as more advanced students, I have not omitted to explain the most obvious allusions, historical, mythological or others, besides elucidating the construction where difficult, and occasionally remarking upon verbal or phraseological peculiarities.

But my main object has been to give assistance to the reader by copious illustration from authors of the nearest age, or of the same country and profession, from the Greek Apologists, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Theophilus, Athenagoras, Origen, as well as from the Latin writers Cyprian, Arnobius, Augustine, and Lactantius; more especially from Tertullian, whose Apologetic treatise is in itself a commentary upon our dialogue.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliotheca Historico-Literaria Patrum Latinorum*, Vol. i. p. 63.

Mere references to the most ordinary authors are too often neglected by students: and perhaps more so in the case of writers not easily accessible. I have taken care therefore to give the more important citations in full.

To conclude with one more remark concerning the notes. There is preserved in the Library of the British Museum a copy of the *Variorum* Edition by Ouzelius, published in 1672, with marginal and other observations by JAMES GRONOVIA. Many of these are mere rough sketches of notes, subsequently expanded in his own edition. The most important of them are noted down in the present edition, enclosed between brackets, and distinguished by the letters J. GR.

I do not wish to conceal, therefore acknowledge once for all, whatever obligations I owe to the labours of preceding Editors and Commentators, whose quotations, I may be allowed to state, I have not appropriated without a faithful verification of them.

Further aids to the student are given in the *Dissertation* of the celebrated Jurist Baudouin on the Age of Minucius, whose authorship of this Dialogue he was the first to discover, as will be seen hereafter; in the *Analysis Logica* drawn up by Lindner and prefixed to his scarce and valuable

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edition; in my own marginal Analysis, and in the copious Indices which will be found occasionally to supply the deficiencies and correct the oversights that occur in the foot-notes.

Concerning the Treatise of Cyprian *de Vanitate Idolorum*, which, being for the most part an abridged transcript of the *Octavius*, forms a proper Appendix to it, little is known either of the persons to whom it was addressed or of the occasion which called it forth. The text, which I have given, is that of ROUTH with very few alterations. The marginal numbers refer to the corresponding chapters in Minucius.

H. A. H.

TRINITY COLLEGE,  
1852, November 18.

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***INTRODUCTION.***

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## ERRATA.

### *In the Text.*

Page 68, line 4, place semicolon after sacerdotum.  
..... 138, ... 3, for Romani populi; read reipublicæ.

### *In the Notes.*

- ..... 95, note 9, col. b, for εἰσαγεῖται; read εἰσάγειται.
- ..... 132, note 13, for 'etiam nihil mirum;' read 'etiam: nihil mirum.'
- ..... 146, note 16, for Statius, *Silv.* III.; read Statius, *Silv.* IV. iii. v. 120.
- ..... 165, note 7, col. b, for οὔταν μακαρία μήν; read οὔταν μακαρία μὲν.
- ..... 185, note 10, for 'was forbaid,' read 'was forbidden.'

# INTRODUCTION.

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## SECTION I.

### *Life of Minucius.*

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THE notices which we have of this Apologist of the Latin Church are extremely meagre and imperfect. His age, country, parentage are alike matters of speculation. His full name was MARCUS MINUCIUS FELIX. The Prænomen MARCUS occurs in the Dialogue, Ch. iii. § 1; Ch. v. § 1. The *Gens Minucia* was widely spread at Rome: and had different cognomens, as *Augurinus*, *Rufus*, *Thermus*, *Faustus*, *Macer*, *Fundanus*, amongst these *Felix*, as appears from an ancient inscription<sup>1</sup>. Many members of the house attained to high distinction. Of our Minucius, we cannot say whether he belonged to it or not: all that we know for certain is that he was a distinguished jurist and advocate at Rome, and rose to celebrity through his eloquence<sup>2</sup>. A

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Gruter. *Inscript.* p. 918. It may be remarked that the name in old authors and in former editions of the *Octavius* was misspelt *Minutius*. The word is not connected with *minutus*: as is proved by the quantity of the middle syllable in *Silius Italicus*,

Nec mora; disjecto *Minuci* recordia vallo  
Perdendi simul et pereundi ardebat amore.  
*Bell. Pun.* vii. 523.

<sup>2</sup> Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* v. 1, and Hieronymus, quoted by Balduinus,

*Dissertat.* p. 3: who remarks (ch. v.) that Arnobius may have been thinking of Minucius, when he spoke of the conversion of so many distinguished members of the Roman Bar to Christianity. Comp. the testimony of Tertullian, *Apolog.* ch. xxxvii. and ch. xlvi.

Eucherius *epist. ad Valerian* speaks of him as *clarissimum facundia*. Tom. v. *Bibl. PP.* p. 771: *Et quando clarissimos facundia, Firmianum, Minutium, Cyprianum,*

See Balduin.  
*Dissert.* § iii  
p. 5.

heathen by birth, he did not embrace Christianity till Ch. i. §§ 3, 4; he had arrived at mature age. That he continued to ch. v. § 1; ch. xxviii. § 1. practice at the bar after his conversion may be reasonably inferred from a passage in the second Chapter of the Dialogue, where he is speaking of his enjoyment of the *feriae judicariae*: although Tzs chirner<sup>3</sup> appeals to this very passage in proof of the contrary.

With regard to the place of his birth, some<sup>4</sup> suppose it to have been Africa. This supposition they argue is favoured by the similarity which is to be observed between his style and that of Tertullian and Cyprian, both of whom were Africans; and by the fact that several stories and sayings, which occur in the dialogue, are to be found in Apuleius. But this argument can hardly be pressed; for although there can be little doubt, as will be seen hereafter, that Minucius has copied from Tertullian to a great extent, still we do not find in him as we should have expected on this supposition, any of the inflated and exaggerated diction, which is the particular characteristic of the African style: but on the contrary a marked imitation of the best classical authors; whose language he has copied just as much, as he has adapted the sentiments and reasoning of Tertullian.

Ch. ix. § 8.

Nor does it appear that any inference can be drawn from the circumstance that Cæcilius, in speaking of Fronto, calls him *noster*: for the meaning of this is indeterminate; it may be either "my (i.e. Cæcilius') countryman," (see Ch. xxxii. 1, below Sect. II. p. xxvii), or "the contemporary of both of us." Van Hoven<sup>5</sup>, on the other

*Hilarium, Joannem, Ambrosium ex  
tlo volumine numerositatis evolvam?  
Dixerant credo: quid hoc est? sur-  
gunt indocti et cœlum rapiunt: et  
nos cum doctrinis ecce tibi in errore  
volutamur et sanguine. Dixerant  
istud: et idcirco postea vim intule-*

*runt ipsi regno.*

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte der Apologetik*: Part 1. p. 276, Leipzig. 1805. See on the other hand, Le Nourry, *Ap-  
par. Crit. Cap. i. Art. ii.*

<sup>4</sup> Tillemont *Mémoires*, Tome III., p. 71; Basnage, and Rigaut, *ad l.*

hand, maintains that he was born in Italy, and probably at Brescia; concluding upon the strength of the circumstance that Pliny, speaking of a certain Minucius Acilianus, says, *patria est ei Brixia*, that this was the native place of the family.

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## SECTION II.

### *Of the Age in which Minucius lived.*

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THIS appears a point capable of being determined with a tolerable degree of certainty, considering the few and imperfect data, which enable us to arrive at any result whatever. It seems to me an obvious inference from these, that Minucius must have composed his dialogue after the *Apologeticus* of TERTULLIAN was published, and before the treatise of CYPRIAN *de Idolorum Vanitate*. Nevertheless, inasmuch as considerable variety of opinion has prevailed upon the question, it may be not an uninteresting enquiry to investigate the grounds, which lead to this conclusion.

To appeal to the testimony of Jerome as the oldest; in a passage<sup>6</sup>, where we observe that his object is to mention the three writers in their chronological order, he places MINUCIUS between TERTULLIAN and CYPRIAN; but in another passage<sup>7</sup>, where he has a different object in view, he puts MINUCIUS after CYPRIAN, the distinguished Bishop and Martyr. Eucherius<sup>8</sup> also assigns the middle place to MINUCIUS.

who is followed by Dupin: Balduinus, *Diss.* § 3, p. 5 and Tschirner *I. l.* speak doubtfully.

<sup>6</sup> *Joannis Danielis ab Hoven epistola historico-critica de vera etate etc. Minucii ad Gerhardum Meermann, § 14*, in Lindner's second

edition, p. 300.

<sup>7</sup> *Catalog. Scriptor. eccles. Lat.*  
Vide Balduin. *Dissert.* § 1

<sup>8</sup> *Apologia pro libris adv. Iovinianum ad Pammach.* Tom. I.  
*Epist. 50. cap. 4*

<sup>8</sup> *Ubi supra note 2.*

Again, it may be assumed as more than probable from the strikingly close correspondence which exists between the *Octavius* and the *Apologeticus*, that one of these must have been copied from the other. Now an acquaintance with the works of TERTULLIAN must, I am convinced, be enough to forbid any dispassionate reader from ever imagining that the most original and characteristic writer of the Latin Church, should have borrowed at all, much less in such a manner, from the writings of another. For, be it observed, the resemblance is not confined to a single phrase, or an accidental illustration, but is so close and literal that whole paragraphs have been in some parts transfused into one from the other<sup>9</sup>. See for one instance out of several Ch. xviii. and Ch. xxii. with the illustrations from TERTULLIAN there given in the notes.

MINUCIUS, on the contrary, is far from an original writer: the most superficial reader will observe that he has borrowed more or less in several passages from other authors, such as Cicero and Seneca: in fact his dialogue is as evidently an artistic and laboured composition, dressed up in an elegant and attractive form, and written by one who was well-acquainted with the best classical Authors; as TERTULLIAN's *Apology*, on the other hand, is the production of an original mind, called for by the exigency of the times and stamped with a peculiar character of its own<sup>10</sup>.

No further proof than this, I think, will be required to shew that the evidence afforded by the two compositions is in favour of the supposition of MINUCIUS<sup>11</sup> being posterior in time to TERTULLIAN. The same argument

<sup>9</sup> Tschirner, *l. l.* p. 277, note, 92. grounds Russwurm, in the Introduction to his *German Translation*

<sup>10</sup> Tschirner, *l. l.* p. 279.

<sup>11</sup> I cannot understand on what

ventures to assert that the correspondence is

may be applied against the notion of their having both drawn from the same sources, viz. the Greek Apologists, and especially Justin Martyr<sup>12</sup>.

Again, we may take it for granted that MINUCIUS was prior to CYPRIAN, since his treatise *de Idolorum Vanitate* is admitted on all sides to be a close transcript of the *Octavius*.

Now TERTULLIAN wrote his *Apologeticus* probably in the year A. D. 198, and CYPRIAN died of martyrdom A. D. 258 in the Valerian Persecution : it follows therefore from our conclusions, that our Author must have composed his Dialogue at some period intermediate between these two extremes. The date of its composition may be fixed still more precisely. Several indications afforded by the Dialogue itself go to prove, that the Christians must, at the time of its composition, have been living in enjoyment of comparative freedom from persecution. We find them living on terms of intimacy Ch. iii. 1; iv.  
with the Heathen, and addressing each other in the 8; xv. 8; xvi.  
language of familiar intercourse. Men of high rank and  
distinction were numbered amongst them, and a Christian could venture to rally a Pagan for his superstitious belief. Moreover Minucius must have been himself living in comparative security, that he was able to devote himself to the composition of this Dialogue. It was only during the following periods that the Christians found themselves in so favourable a position: viz., under ANTONIUS CARACALLA, A.D. 211—217, who, at least, manifested his good will towards them so far as to allow the Governors of Provinces to deal with them as they pleased: under ALEXANDER SEVERUS, (A. D. 222—235,) Ch. iii. 1; iv.  
8; xv. 8; xvi.  
2, 8, 6.

natural because the subjects on which they wrote and the objections they had to answer were the same.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. Henrici Meieri, *Com-*

*mentatio de Minucio Felice.* Zurich,  
1824, p. 10, sq. C. F. Rössler, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, Vol. III. p.  
2, foll.

who as a religious eclectic partially recognised Christianity: or under PHILIPPUS ARABS (244—249), who was so lenient to the Christians, that he was even reputed to be one himself. The remaining Emperors of this period were vehement opponents and bloody persecutors of their religion. Now there is extant an old tradition of Minucius having flourished in the reign of Alexander Severus, which is supported and confirmed by independent considerations<sup>13</sup>.

The Antiquary Marcus Antonius Coccius, ordinarily called Sabellicus<sup>14</sup>, who lived in 1500, asserts, yet without citing any historical evidence for the truth of his assertion, that MINUCIUS flourished at the time when Urban was Bishop of Rome. Now the time of Urban's bishopric exactly coincides with the first years of the reign of ALEXANDER SEVERUS, viz. 223—230<sup>15</sup>. This statement agrees with that of the German Historian John Von Trittenheim<sup>16</sup>, (usually known under the name Trithemius,) in his treatise *de Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus*, which may be viewed as a continuation of the celebrated work of Jerome, that MINUCIUS flourished in Rome about the year 230 in the time of Alexander Severus.

The reasons which impart to this statement an appearance of truth are as follows:—

I. The allusion to the recovery of the Roman standards from the Parthians, mentioned in Ch. vii. § 6, *ut Parthos signa repetamus*, is introduced in such a way as to lead us to suppose, that it was an event which had

<sup>13</sup> Lübkert, *Einleitung*, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Enead.* vii. Lib. 6: *Claruit*

*sub Urbano Triphon, quem Origenes docuit: Minucius Felix auctor causarum insignis, cuius Lactantius meminit. Dialogum Scripsit de Christiana et Ethnica religione. Scripsit et contra mathematicos. Fuit his*

*æqualis Alexander Hierosolymorum antistes.*

<sup>15</sup> Eusebius, *H.E.* ii. 25; vi. 20.

<sup>16</sup> J. A. FABRICII *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*; "Minucius Felix, Causidicus, patria Romanus, vir in secularibus literis eruditissimus et in divinis lectionibus studiosus, ingenio ex-

recently taken place. Now we know from Suetonius<sup>17</sup> that Augustus had succeeded in obtaining a triumph over this nation and recovering the Roman standards; but still the Romans may not have looked upon them as completely subjugated. It is then possible that the allusion in the text may be to the campaign of the Emperor Alexander Severus in Parthia. At any rate the explanation of this passage, though perhaps it be too uncertain to support any independent conclusion, agrees very well with this assumption.

2 The immediate occasion of the dialogue was an act of homage paid by the Heathen Cæcilius to a statue of Serapis at Ostia (Ch. II. 5). Now it is recorded of Alexander Severus that in his fondness for religious syncretism, he procured for himself initiation into the mysteries<sup>18</sup>, and beautified the temple of this deity at Rome<sup>19</sup>: and it is not unlikely that the ardour of Cæcilius was stirred up to this act of devotion to a deity, whose worship was just then becoming fashionable.

3 We read in Ch. xxix. § 6, of the Dialogue: *et est eis tutius per Jovis genium pejerare quam Cæsaris.* The custom of swearing by the Emperor, *adjurandi Genius Principis*, came into vogue after the death of Julius Cæsar, when the Senate passed a vote *τὴν αὐτῷ φυχὴν δμήτραι*. See the commentators on Apuleius *Metamorphoses*, L. ix. C. 11<sup>20</sup>; and compare Tertullian *Apolog.* xxix. and Ulpian *leg.* XIII. *Digest. de jurejurando.* But Alexander Severus had issued a decree in respect to

*cellens, et disertus eloquio, scriptis Latino sermone quedam præclara opuscula, quibus memoriam sui posteris commendavit. E quibus extat dialogus inter Christianum et hæreticum, qui Octavius inscribitur. Claruit Romæ sub Alexandro Imperatore, Anno Domini 230.*"

<sup>17</sup> AUGUST. *Vit. c. xxi;* TIBER. *Vit. c. viii.*

<sup>18</sup> SPARTIAN. *Vita A. Severi,* o. xvii.

<sup>19</sup> LAMPRIDIUS, *vita Alexandri Severi,* c. xxvi.

<sup>20</sup> p. 807, ed. HILDEBRAND.

this: concerning which Baudouin says: *suspicor hic notari quandam constitutionem Alexandri Severi, quae tamen relata est in libros juris, leg. II., Cod. de rebus creditis.* The law is in lib. IV. of the Codex, and reads thus: *Jurisjurandi contempta religio satis Deum ultorem habet. Periculum autem corporis vel Majestatis crimen secundum constituta Divorum parentum meorum, etsi per Principis venerationem quodam calore fuerit pejeratum, inferri non placet.*

This treble coincidence of occurrences in the life of Alexander Severus, with allusions in the *Octavius*, form a strong ground for supposing that Minucius Felix was a younger contemporary of Tertullian, and fixing as the date of the Dialogue the year 226. Perhaps a further confirmation may be sought in Ch. XII. and Ch. XXXVII., which justify us in inferring that there had been recently a persecution of the Christians, which had given occasion to instances of heroism in martyrdom. This was probably the persecution under Septimius Severus, the recollection of which would, no doubt, be still fresh in men's minds.

Nevertheless, others arrive at an entirely different conclusion, and would have us believe that TERTULLIAN copied from MINUCIUS, whose age they assign to the time of the Emperor ANTONINUS PIUS, between 138 and 161, so as to make him a contemporary of Justin Martyr and Athenagoras. Among the advocates of this theory there are several, whose opinion would certainly carry weight<sup>21</sup>, were not the arguments by which they attempt

<sup>21</sup> Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Tom. III. p. 295; Baronius, *Annal.* 211, § 3; Dodwell, *Dissert. Cyprianica* III. § xvi; Blondell, *de l'Eucharistie*, p. 119; Daillé; J. D. ab Hoven, *Epistola Historico-Literaria* (appended to Lindner's second edition); Oelrich's,

*de Scriptt. Ecclesiae Latinae priorr. Sæcul.* p. 24. Tzscherner, *Fall. des Heidenthum* I. p. 219, places him in the age of Marcus Aurelius, although in his former work, the *Geschichte der Apologetik*, he adheres to the commonly-received opinion.

to support it so manifestly weak and inconclusive. But, as they are introduced with great parade and show of learning, it may be worth while to pass them one by one in review.

1 "The classical purity of his style shows that the latest period when he could have lived was under the Antonines<sup>22</sup>." To say nothing of the fact that only 60 years intervened between Antoninus Pius and Alexander Severus, surely his elegance of style can be no sufficient ground upon which to build a conclusion as to the age of a writer: otherwise we might contend that Lactantius or Augustine lived in the silver age<sup>23</sup>.

2 "From the apparent conformity between the three writers Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Minucius, not only in the arguments they employ to refute objections, but also in points of doctrine, it follows that they must have lived about the same time<sup>24</sup>." The answer to this is that the similarity between these same writers and Tertullian is much more striking, with this only difference, that Tertullian, in employing these same arguments, has handled them in a much more original manner than our author.

3 "The picture drawn by Minucius of the circumstances of the primitive Christians, when he describes them as, *latebrosa et lucifugax natio, et de ultima face Ch. viii. 4, 5. profanæ conjurationis plebs*, harmonises with the description of them by Justin Martyr and Athenagoras: whereas Tertullian says of the Christians: *Jam omnia impleverant, Apolog. ch. xxxvii. urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa,*

The same view has been adopted by Kestner, *Agape*, p. 356, H. Meier, *Commentatio de Minucio Felice*, Turici, 1824, Russwurm, in the Introduction to his translation, and Muralto in his edition of the Dialogue.

<sup>22</sup> Van Hoven, *l. l.* § 1, p. 263.

M. F.

Comp. Tschirner, *Gesch. der Apol.* p. 280.

<sup>23</sup> Lumper, *Historia Theologico-Critica SS. Patrum*. Vol. vii. p. 108.

<sup>24</sup> Van Hoven, *l. l.* p. 264; Meier *Comm.* p. 6.

*Apolo. ch. i.* *tribus, decurias, palatum, senatum, forum etc.* : and, *Hinc ad Nation. i. i.* *Romani obsessam vociferantur civitatem : omnem sexum, aetatem, conditionem etiam dignitatem transgredi ad hoc nomen quasi detimento moerent*; in which passages we have the description of the Christians as they were in a later age. It follows therefore that Minucius must have written at an earlier period<sup>25</sup>. The mistake here is, that the reproach put into the mouth of the heathen Cæcilius against the Christians, is considered as conveying a true description of what they really were. Cæcilius' object clearly is to repeat all the calumnies which the Christians had been assailed with from the earliest times, whether applicable to his own period or not, and to bring forward everything he could in order to place them in an odious light<sup>26</sup>. But the untruth of the objection is hinted at in a few words by Octavius: who says further in Ch. xxxi. § 8; *in dies nostri numerus augetur*. Even the objector himself, when it suits his purpose, exclaims with indignation: *per universum orbem sacraria ista tetricimæ superstitionis adolescunt*. Besides, Tacitus, at a still earlier period, had already spoken of them as being *multitudine ingens*; and the account given by Pliny, his contemporary, corresponds precisely with that of Tertullian. The only difference between the external condition of the Christians in the times when Tertullian and Minucius wrote would be, that the former witnessed them in a season of great peril and trial, the latter in one of security and freedom from persecution, such as we know they enjoyed through the good will of Alexander Severus.

4 “Mention is made of *Fronto* of Cirta, as a contemporary of the speakers in the Dialogue: it is probable that the person alluded to is *M. Julius Fronto*, who

<sup>25</sup> Van Hoven, *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Van Hoven, p. 287, note:

<sup>26</sup> Tzschirner, *Gesch. der Apol.* Tzschirner, *Fall des Heidenthum,* p. 280. p. 221, note.

was *consul suffectus* in 143; consequently in the reign of Antoninus Pius<sup>27</sup>." It is more probable that the person referred to is M. Cornelius Fronto, the tutor of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius<sup>28</sup>. But whichever of these is meant, it is quite a *petitio principii*, to found an argument on the use of *noster*, which may mean equally well "my countryman" (whether dead or alive) as "my contemporary:" but more probably here signifies, "one of our party," namely, a heathen, as is shewn by a subsequent passage (Ch. xxxi. 1), where Octavius, in his answer to Cæcilius, speaks of *Fronto tuus*.

5 "The Christians are described by Minucius Felix as illiterate and uneducated; whereas in the time of Origin they appear in quite a different light."

But this again does not appear from the Dialogue: on the contrary, Cæcilius' remark (v. 4, viii. 4), which of course is made in a spirit of ill-nature, is contradicted by Octavius in Ch. xxxi. 7. Besides the case of Minucius himself, and Octavius, who were both persons of consequence and education and yet Christians, is enough to prove the futility of this conclusion.

6 "All the objections, which are advanced by Cæcilius against the Christians, are directed against their mode of life and external conduct, not against their doctrines or principles: but the case was different in the time of Tertullian and Origin."

But this again is a futile objection: for surely it is the doctrines of Christianity which Cæcilius assails, when he speaks contemptuously of their belief in one God, His general attributes, and providence, their hope of immortality and the resurrection of the body, and their belief in a future retribution. And Octavius limits his defence to these; he does not enter into a regular vin-

<sup>27</sup> See note 15, ch. ix. and comp. specially Bayle, *Dictionn. Article Balduini Dissert.* § 3, p. 5; and es- Fronto, note F.

dication of the whole system of Christianity, it being no part of the plan of this Dialogue that he should do so. In fact, it is merely occupied in clearing away any antecedent objection to the *consideration* of Christianity<sup>29</sup>. Hence we see why total silence is maintained by him concerning the Books of Holy Scripture.

The above are the chief grounds, weak as they are, usually alleged in support of the theory, which places the age of Minucius at an earlier period than the reign of Alexander Severus. Others, however, place him still later, and posterior to Cyprian<sup>30</sup>.

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### SECTION III.

#### *Literary History of the Octavius.*

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MINUCIUS FELIX, after the fashion of Cicero, whose writings, and especially the Treatise *de Natura Deorum*, he took for his model, names his Dialogue after one of the speakers in it *Octavius*. The form of the Dialogue resembles those of Cicero, who, instead of the short questions and answers which Plato puts into the mouths of his disputants, makes them utter separate speeches and uninterrupted discourses. On this subject the unpublished fragmentary remarks<sup>31</sup> of Gronovius may not be considered out of place :—

*Ut et ipse aliquod principium mediter, antequam ad ipsum melos peragendum aggrediar; ita versatur in hoc scripto noster Minucius Felix, ut liquide ostendat non se statim postquam ab Ostia cum tertio comite domum rediit,*

<sup>29</sup> Woodham, *Introduction to Tertullian's Apology*, p. xliv.

<sup>30</sup> Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, Vol. II. *Appendix*, c. 8, p. 418.

<sup>31</sup> These remarks evidently form

the commencement of the Introduction, which Gronovius had promised in the Preface to his Edition, where he speaks of the *conilium, quo decreveram rimari et ostendere, quod*

*ad scribendum contulisse. An proximi mox dies fuerint, quos impendit huic memorie digerendae, sicuti non dicerim, ita undecunque etiam haec mora venerit, ad dialogum hunc instruendum aggressus est demum, postquam intellexit fato concessisse Octavium. Tamdiu sive animo seriem eorum quae dicta erant ruminans, sive charte committens capita mortiarum ea sibi retinuit, Octavio et suis et aliorum mortaliū oculis subducto, voluptatem pristinam, commemorando amicitiae usu et religioso paternitatis consortio, honorandam sibi existimans desidere ultra nequirit, et quod quantocunque tempore secum recensuerat, in literas redigens absolvit ac publicavit justissime, utpote quo partim pietatem suam probaret simul ac veteris amici nomen officiumque ac religionis acrem et efficacem custodiam, partim quoque, si ita res ferret, alios ex inumbrante caligine ad eandem spem ac fidem traduceret. Inerat tamen Minucio peculiaris stimulus, ut per tribunalia jam celebratus eloquentiae etiam titulo, uteretur hac occasione ad prodendos fontes unde incrementa facultatis sue forensis duxerit. Non enim suo tempore satis tutum erat deducere adolescentem ad quemcunque in foro validum oratorem, quem observaret cuiusque facundiam conaretur emulari. Istud splendidum tempus praterierat nec aliud restabat, quam ut probae eloquentiae conspectum ex libris melioris aei bene lectis peterent. Hoc fecerat quoque Minucius, et cui potissimum se applicuerit, judicavit opportunitatem indicandi nunc extare honestissimam, idque nunc perfecisse accuratissime existimo. Itaque quum hic dialogus sit quasi laudatio excellentis hujus Octavii, imaginor mihi crebrius injectam illi fuisse de ea deliberationem, qua forma componi deberet aut cuius antiqui et probatissimi scriptoris exemplo opportuniore uteretur.*

*genus scripti veteris tunc praeципue in mente habuerit Minucius, adeo ut sequitur fuisse in plurimis videatur, aut quas magis exiguae partes aliunde petere voluerit, satis manifesta*

*imitationis claritudine. Schönenmann in reference to this promise observes: Utinam vero perfecisset, quod tum seposuisse tantum videri vult. Biblioth. Patr. 1. p. 68.*

*Id vero erat, quod tanto magis investigandum opinabar, quo minus de hac parte solliciti fuerunt priores, unde contigit eos hic illic haerere. Nobis autem ad id proficiet, ut quum imaginem totius operis ad vetustius scriptum directam conspicati fuerimus, etiam credamus illum, qui sic id accommodavit, facere nequivisse quin legenti et proponenti istud exemplum adhaeserint nonnunquam et verba et locutiones in eodem usurpatæ. Quantum igitur circumspiciens adsequor, ex omni turba librorum, quos ad integrum facundias juridicas copiam obtainendam necessarios antea sibi potuit circumsexisse, judicavit hic insignis, ut olim describatur, causidicus vel primas dari oportere M. Tullio Ciceroni, universæ perfectionis quam causidicina requirere potest, progenitori. Qui quum nihil scripserit legi indignum, tum causidico nostro præsertim videntur placuisse libri tres de Oratore. Horum lectioni quum assiduus etiam ante inhaesisset eo potentia videtur devenisse, ut et passim ad illos multa concinnaret, quæ usui quotidiano et tribunalibus seruirent, et cummaxime in causa veritatis caelstis ut ille in ratione facundie, si non emulari et ad imitationem principis causidicorum aspirare, certe fabricam ejus sibi perspectam cognitamque ita ostendere, ut aliquid simile, etsi maximo intervallo, fingere et concinnare posset. Quisquis attenderis, hanc conjectare in dialogum sermocinationis de cultu divino et cuius plurima pars est, defensionis Christianæ per Octavium agnosces fuisse occasionem et originem. Quid dico? Immo haec prima fila fuisse, unde haec pulcherrima tela contexta est, manifeste deprehendes. Quod ut e vestigio sine ulla vel nebulae obscuritate unicuique pateat vel ipsum modo initium spectetur. Prorsus enim sic inchoat illos libros de Oratore maximus Tullius: Cogitanti mihi saepenumero et memoria vetera repetenti perbeati fuisse illi videri solent etc. In quibus jam statim prima duo verba Minucium grata ad sua transferentem penitus animadvertisimus, neque id tantum, sed*

*sicut illam ipsam cogitationem aut explicacione clariore aut specie peculiari indicata ad eandem faciem deprehendimus amplificari, perinde factum est in hujus dialogi exordio, et quidem in utroque ad eandem sententiam de rebus anteac-tis ut *imago exempli*, quod ex auctore suo ad unam aliquam notitiam traduxit concinne noster Minucius constet aper-tissime. Sed quam festinus Minucii abitus ab Cicerone, ut vix vestigium vel orbita hujus imitationis in posterioribus extaret. Nam quanta statim differentia utriusque in affectu. In Cicerone nihil nisi ut inde opinio conciperetur; sed in Minucio aliquid inde gratum contingit animo et hic motu valido afficitur. Et Tullius quidem ipse hujus ista vetera vel suæ cogitationis causas et materias latius deducit libro III. cap. 4: Mihi quidem, Quinte frater, et eorum casus, de quibus ante dixi, et ea, que nosmet ipsi ob amorem in rempublicam incredibilem et singula-rem pertulimus ac sensimus, cogitanti sententia sæpe tua vera ac sapiens videri solet etc. Nisi quod quum et illic cogitatio versatur circa homines sive plures et tandem quoque transeat ad unum, ut *propius ad propositum suum legebat verba jam ex libro primo citata noster auctor*, quem simili ratione fovebat de paucioribus et quidem uno proximis loquens apud Ciceronem Brutus in libro cognomine cap. 76, ubi ad mentionem Torquati et Triarii com-motus Brutus inquit: Næ ego, inquam, de istis duobus cum cogito, doleo etc. Merito Felix noster quæ ad causam suam minus pertinebant, mutat, et quæ de pluribus memo-rantur apud Ciceronem, contulit ad unum; sed etiam ita se cogitare ostendit, ut memoria repeatat aliquid jam effectum et praeteritum, et porro quidem tale, unde jure perbeatos quo-dam censere et appellare oporteat, quod quidem per Minu-ciana solidius colligitur, pari modo antiit Cicero. Unde jam primum patet hoc cogitare non esse μεριμνᾶν, ut quidem et semper alias et illo tempore poterat de religionis causa in-telligi, sed ἐνθυμεῖν, ἐννοεῖν, ut ipse Minucius voluit etiam mox*

*innuere, quum haec ipsa explanans iterat: Itaque quum per universam convictus nostri et familiaritatis aetatem mea cogitatio volveretur. Ex quibus etiam non dubito quin colligi oporteat studia Minucii Felicis ex illis, quae optima existimari debent, colorem duxisse.*

*Ad hunc igitur modum firmata solide, ut reor, ista basi liquide etiam apparebit fabrica statuae per Minucium in ea figurata. Hinc nimis est, quod etiam non domi causa peragit, sed veniendum fuit in ambulationem, etsi non in Tusculano eloquentissimi Crassi et sedibus ac pulvinis sub platano duo triave spatia fiant: utique primum velut in quadam publica clysto vice Ostiensis, deinde in dromo quasi Achilleo juxta litus aliquot passibus factis in saxis (opportunum satis e re praesenti quilibet agnoscit) considendum fuit. Hinc extra urbem caelo et pelago teste haberi debuit haec cognitio, eique occasionem pandere comminiscitur ferias ad vindemiam, videlicet quia apud Ciceronem in id quod dixi suburbanum illi secesserant propter scenicos ludos, sive illos deorum festo datos, sive honorarios, quorum super triginta dies novimus ex Suetonio ab Augusto accommodatos fuisse rerum actui. Et quum sic pateat, unde arcessita sit opportunitas et prima constitutio vestibuli ad materiam patefaciendi; mirum hinc non est, si identidem in ipsa rerum explicatione occurrant etiam loca Ciceronis manifeste ab Minucio tacta et expressa. Quid? quum sic agit Tullius, ut de eloquentia Crassi nequiverit Cotta loqui, nisi per hanc translationem libro 1<sup>mo</sup> istius operis cap. 35? Tanquam si in aliquam domum locupletem et refertam venerim non explicata veste, neque proposito argento, neque tabulis et signis propalam collocatis, ut his omnibus multis magnificisque rebus constructis et reconditis: nonne hinc putavit consultissime amplificari affirmationem divinæ providentiae Minucius noster, ut eadem communis moris traductione utens et domum quoque spectans etsi aliter comparatum scriberet?*

Quod si ingressus aliquam domum, omnia exulta, disposita, ornata, vidisses etc. *Insuper quum diceret Crassus libro i. cap. 37.* Qui hanc personam suscepit, ut amicorum controversias causasque tueatur, laborantibus succurrat, ægris medeatur, afflites excitet: *nonne hæc verba animo scriptoris nostri objecerunt hanc adumbrationem, quam legimus, tum omnia eadem continentem, tum deducendo sermoni nonnulla vicina apprehensa interserentem?* Pleni et mixti Deo vates... dant cautelam periculis, morbis medelam, spem afflictis, opem miseria, solatium calamitatibus, laboribus levamentum. *Quid quum interloquitur auctor noster et ipse judex questionis post alteram partem auditam per hæc verba:* Tamen altius moveor, non de præsentि actione, sed de toto genere disputandi; *nonne jussu quodam acri compressus inhaesit Tullianæ periodo libri iii. cap. 6?* Sed priusquam illa conor attingere, quibus orationem ornari atque illuminari putem, proponam breviter quod sentiam de universo genere dicendi<sup>32</sup>.

*Sic per varia hujus consessus membra noster Minucius fati sui ignarus, excitaverat tamen veluti pharos quasdam satis lucentes, ad quas in hac nocte, quam barbara vetustas ei densissimam et prorsus illiteratam circumdedit, ut nec de ratione studiorum ejus nec de subsidiis ad hunc Octarium comparatis quidquam aut ab antiquis sit ad nos proditum, nec ante nos viri mox eruditæ perspicere tentaverint, gubernare cursum legendi posteritas posset. Quod quum eatenus sit nunc demonstratum, non existimo fieri posse ut quisquam hic figenda putet vestigia, et lucem sic clarescentem non censeat proferri aut posse aut debere etiam ad ipsa interdum verba, quorum lumen agnoscit, si per editores licuisset. Immo vero proferenda ista inventionis hujus commoditas, quum fieri nequeat, quin defensor optimæ fidei*

<sup>32</sup> Sed præsertim meretur considerari principium sermonis, quo uti-

tur Octavius cap. xvi.

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*ingurgitatus assiduo liquore Tulliani fluminis, ut inde tam conspicuos rivos hauserit, etiam penum bene instructam in mente gesserit ipsarum vocum, quas ex eadem copia manantes libens adhibuerit ad contextum hujus opusculi suaviter et jucunde irrigandum placitissima Latinas loquela lenitate, et dum sententiam verbis illigat, ita memor fuerit ejus quod in Tullio legerat, ut sponte se suggesterit. Quid moramur? id probatum jam spectatumque præbuerunt vel ista, Numen præstantissimæ mentis, vel alia hic illic nunc annotata.*

*In hoc igitur spectaculo operas edunt Cæcilius et Octavius. Cæcilius perennis et perpes, quantum scimus, in familiaritate et convictu ipsius Minucii, et sicut nunquam urbe Roma egressus, ita literarum vetustarum studiis callens, adeo ut eruditionem ejus agnoscat etiam Octavius cap. XVI. § 2, alioquin etiam satis in ipsa dissertatione eminentem, qua fere peragit cylcum prisca eruditionis. Alter Octavius, advena et peregrinus, ut absit ab ista tam celebrata urbanitate, cuius sortis fere specimen dixeris, quod capite XXVI. dixit provinciali nempe confusione Clodius scilicet et Flaminius, qui ab Cæilio indicatus fuit sub nomine Claudii, quam differentiam et ejus causam non fuit adsequutus Meursius; quum illo etiamnum tempore Cladios appellari in urbe videamus, non Cladios: et rusticatem hanc probet ille in prædiis Cosanis educatur Vespasianus, ut adsuesceret plostra dicere. Utque magis cognoscas eum talem esse, facit sermo ejus in principio ambulationis editus, quem cap. III. testatur Minucius fuisse narrationem de navigatione. Unde non modo discimus peregrinum fuisse, sed etiam transmarinum, ut navigatione uti debuerit iturus Roman: et ut vara vibiam, hinc videatur esse quod capite XVII. intermiscet Aspice Oceanum, refluit reciprocis aestibus, id nempe proferens ut Oceani gnarus per vicinam habitationem. Itaque sive ex Africa sive ex Hispania peti debet, certe circa oras extiores*

vixisse merito colligitur, ut hinc Oceani gnarus sit, de quo nihil opus erat dicere, nec dixerat aliquid de eo Cœcilius; at Octavius de isto divinae potentiae miraculo tacere non potuit. Ceterum de Africa probabilius credas, quam de Hispania, quoniam certe nomen Octavianum vel Octavias stirpis pars ab aliquo tempore migravit in Africam, ut tempore Ciceronis potuerit Romæ notus esse Octavius ille Libyis oriundus de quo testatur ita MACROBIUS Lib. vii. Saturn. cap. 3, ex quorum prosapia hunc quoque duxisse originem nihil, credo, vetat.

Ceterum in diversitate karastrenis quam singuli utuntur ad suæ cause sustentationem, admirabilis est Minucius, et sapientissime ipsum cogitavisse probat. Nam ille gentilis, quum non in fortuna magis sibi quam in natura placeret subito transiliens ad castra majorum, ita superfundit nimbo numinum, ut fere nihil loci videatur relinquere velificandi et detorquendi aliorum, nec sollicitus de origine et modo proveniendi hoc agit ut recensendo et nominando et per gentes ac regiones et urbes digerendo probet existere, appellari, et quasi in machinis eos monstrat; scit quibus appellantur vocabulis per diversas gentes: interdum et ab illis res geri et παροντας modo beneficiis interdum plectendo probare, etiam minando tantum, sed in primis patent exempla Romana. Non id agit ut adversarius veniat in eandem persuasionem et similem sibi fidem induat: nequam, sed ita audacter illi ista ingerit urgens per nomina per miracula per paenas, ut, nisi contra armatus foret, succumbere cogeretur. At Octavius illa omnia sic excipit ut hanc divinitatis præstantiam doceat non aliunde pendere, nisi ex fide, credulitatem majorum accusans.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is remarkable that for centuries no one knew of any extant work of Minucius, but his Dialogue passed for the eighth book of Arnobius *adversus Nationes*, in spite of the great difference in style, being found in

the MS. together with the seven books of that work, and the title *Octavius* being mistaken for *octavus sc. liber*. It was reserved to the learned civilian Francis Baudouin to restore it to its true author: upon what external evidence, may be seen in his dissertation which is reprinted in this volume.

I have already remarked in the Preface that there is only one known MS. of Minucius: this was originally preserved in the Vatican Library, where it was collated by Sabæus. Thence it passed into the Royal Library at Paris, being presented by Pope Léo the Tenth to Francis the First<sup>33</sup>. It is the same MS. in which is preserved the work of Arnobius: its date is probably the 9th century<sup>34</sup>. The MS. at Brussels is merely a transcript of this<sup>35</sup>. Several collations have been made of it by Sabæus, Rigaut, and later by Muralto, and Hildebrand in an Appendix to his edition of Arnobius<sup>36</sup>.

A short account of the several editions which have been published of the *Octavius*, may not be without its use.

In the Sixteenth Century there appeared:—

1542.  
Editio  
Principis.

The *Editio Princeps*, or *Romana*, which was edited by Faustus Sabæus (*Sabeo*), from the MS then in the Library of the Vatican, of which he was Curator. It was published as the Eighth Book of Arnobius, in folio.

1546.  
Sigismundi  
Gelenii.

This was followed by the edition of Sigismundus Gelenius, of Prague, published at Bâle, 1546, and again 1560, in 8vo. The mistake of the first editor is repeated in this. With several happy conjectures it contains many arbitrary alterations of the text.

1560.  
Franciscus  
Balduini.

In the same year appeared the edition of Franciscus Balduinus (*Francis Baudouin*), at Heidelberg, 12mo: remarkable for having been the first edition of the *Octa-*

<sup>33</sup> Fabricius, *Delectus Argumentorum etc.* p. 216.

<sup>34</sup> Muralto, *Prefat.* p. v.

<sup>35</sup> G. F. Hildebrand, *Prefat. ad Arnobium*, p. i.

<sup>36</sup> G. F. Hildebrand, *ibid.*

viss with its real author's name. It contains the text only without notes, but preceded by an able dissertation establishing the authorship of the Dialogue beyond dispute. It was republished at Paris in 1589, and there again, as well as at Frankfurt, in 1690, in 8vo.

About twenty years subsequently, the celebrated Fulvius Ursinus (*Ursini*) published an edition of Arnobius at Rome in 4to, and appended to it the *Octavius*, without mentioning a word of Baldinus' discovery, but attributing it to the Cardinal Sirleto.

In the *Seventeenth Century* :—

In 1603, appeared two editions from rival and not very amicable editors, (1) at Bâle, in 8vo, by John a Woweren, a native of Hamburg, with an Appendix containing Cyprian's Treatise *de Vanitate Idolorum*. He appears to have been practised upon by some one who pretended to give him information about the readings of the *Codex Regius*, since those which he attributes to it are uniformly wrong. His notes are for the most part judicious.

(2) The second was by Elmenhorst, published originally at Hanover, republished at Hamburg in 1610 and 1612, in folio. As a critical edition it is worthless: though the editor mentions that he has used several MSS.: it is useful, however, for the number of parallel passages which it contains, quoted from a variety of authors.

Desiderius Heraldus, who had published an edition of Arnobius with the text of the *Octavius*, at Paris in 1605, in 8vo, in which he had introduced several alterations from the *Codex Regius*, edited an edition of Tertullian, together with Minucius Felix, in 1613, Paris, 4to, containing a few illustrative notes.

No other editions of importance intervened between this and that of Nicolaus Rigaltius (*Nicholas Rigant*), a distinguished jurist and Editor of Tertullian, published

1589.  
Fulvii Ursini.

1603.  
Johannis  
Woweri,  
Geverharti  
Elmenhorstii.

1605.  
Desiderii  
Heraldi.

1648.  
Nicolaui  
Rigaltii.

at Paris, in 1643, 4to, containing the treatise of Cyprian de *Idolorum Vanitate*. Rigaut collated the MS., which was in his time transferred to Paris, with great care; and his account of the readings is in fact the only one on which full reliance can be placed. The notes are few, but exhibit learning and judgment. The edition was reprinted at Leyden in 1645, with an Appendix containing Julius Firmicus de *Profana ac Vera Religione*, edited by Wower, and also at Paris. Davies says of Rigaut, in the Preface to his own edition, *inter editores Minucianos, meo quidem judicio, agmen dicit*.

1652.  
Jacobi Ouz.  
sellii.

Biblioth.  
Patr. p. 71.

The first *Variorum* edition, was one of great pretence, but which failed to secure anything but the well-merited contempt of all true scholars. It was published at Leyden by James Ouzelius (*Oisel*), a jurist of Dantzig, in 4to; containing the *Prolegomena* of Balduinus. The editor, who committed himself to the mercy of critics at the age of 21, informs us that he wrote his notes *prelo currente*: such of them as are worth reading are unacknowledged transcripts from well-known treatises, such as that of Vossius *de Idolatria*; and Selden *de Dis Syris*. Schönemann says of him: "Futilissimi hujus commentatoris notarum colluvies immensitate sua reliquorum omnium longe superat. Ad singula Minucii verba undecunque omnia 'apta' inepta incredibili stupore et imprudentia corrosa sunt." It was, nevertheless, reprinted at Halle a. 1672, in 8vo, with the notes placed at the foot of the text, and not, as in the first edition, at the end of the whole volume.

1699.  
Christophori  
Cellarii.

There is a strong contrast between this ponderous edition and that of Cellarius at Halle, a. 1699, in 8vo, and again a. 1726, which contains the above mentioned treatise of Cyprian, the dissertation of Balduinus, and an *Essay de usu antiquitatis ecclesiastice Christianis scholis commendandae*, with a collection of brief but scholarlike notes.

The text, which is here for the first time divided into Chapters and Sections, is not so good as that of Rigalius. Cellarius has fallen into the same error about the number of manuscripts of this author that Wowerus had fallen into previously.

In the *eighteenth* Century appeared by far the most useful edition of all that had hitherto been published, <sup>1707.</sup> *Johannis Davidi* that of Dr John Davies, Fellow (afterwards President) of Queens' College, Cambridge, printed at the University Press, in 1707, 8vo. It contains besides Balduinus' *Dissertatio* the *Instructiones* of Commodianus. A second edition was published in 1712. Gallandi in his *Bibliotheca Patrum* followed the revision of Davies.

It was followed by a second *Variorum* edition, viz. <sup>1709.</sup> *Jacobi Gronovii* that of James Gronovius (8vo. Lugd. Batav.), in which the notes of Wowerus, Elmenhorst, Heraldus and Rigalius are given unabridged. It contains also Cyprian *de I. V.*, and Julius Firmicus. Many of his notes are devoted to an exposure of the plagiarisms of Ouzelius.

After an interval of fifty years Lindner, a critic of <sup>1760.</sup> *Johannis Gottlieb Lindner* Ernesti's school, published the text of the dialogue (*Langensalza*, 1760, 8vo.) with a preface by Ernesti on the advantages of studying the Fathers, the *Dissertatio* of Balduinus, and an useful collection of notes, partly selected from previous commentators and the *adversaria* of different scholars, partly original. In the second edition, published 1773, many improvements were introduced: the critical notes abridged to make room for additional explanatory remarks, and an *Epistola Historico-Critica* by J. D. van Hoven *de vera Minucii aetate* substituted for the *Prolegomena* of Balduinus. His *Analysis Logica Dialogi* is reprinted in the present edition.

In all the above-mentioned editions, the notes are <sup>1836.</sup> *J. H. B. Lübkert* written in Latin; the first with notes in a modern language was that of Lübkert (Leipsig, 1836): which con-

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tains an introduction, analysis, and copious notes principally borrowed from preceding editors, and has a German translation appended. In a critical point of view it falls short of many of its predecessors.

Eduardi de  
Muralto.

In the same year appeared an edition by Edward de Muralto, a pupil of Professor Orelli at Zurich; purporting to give a more faithful collation of the Codex Regius, and an entirely fresh one of another MS. preserved at Brussels. Unfortunately, however, the copious *apparatus criticus*, and collection of conjectural emendations which the editor has amassed with diligence far greater than they deserve, do not compensate for his inaccuracy in transcribing the *Codex Regius*.

Besides these single editions of our author, there are several collections of the works of the Fathers, in which a place has been assigned to him: viz.

Gallandi, *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*. Venetiis, 1765—1781.

Despont, *Bibl. Maxima Vett. Patt.* Lugd. Bat. 1677.

Oberthür, *Opp. Patr.* Wirceburgi 1777—1779.

A. B. Caillau, *Collectio SS. Eccl. Patrum*. Paris, 1827.

E. G. Gersdorf, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Selecta*. Lipsiae, 1839.

J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Cursus Completus*. Par. 1844.

The last of which, as containing a body of variorum notes, would have been very useful, had not the extreme carelessness of the editors rendered it impossible to place any confidence in their work.

Several translations have been made: the best are those of William Reeves, printed with the *Apologies of the Primitive Fathers*. London, 2 Voll. 8vo. 1717.

Sir D. Dalrymple (Lord Hailes). Edinburgh, 1781.

Nicolas P. d'Ablancourt. Paris, 1646.

T. G. Russwurm, in German, with an Introduction: Hamburg, 1824. 4to.

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*DISSE**R**TATI**O*  
FRANCISCI BALDUINI IC.  
IN  
MARCI MINUCII FELICIS  
*OCTAVIUM.*

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## DISSESTITO.

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**U**T hunc sive Libellum, sive Dialogum, qui multis jam seculis falso creditus est dictusque esse octavus Arnobii adversus Gentes, et inscriberem, et esse plane liquido-que affirmarem<sup>\*</sup> M. Minucii felicis OCTAVIUM, facile mihi persuaserunt duo et boni et antiqui et graves testes aucto-resque, Lactantius atque Hieronymus. Ille enim suarum Institutionum Lib. I. cap. undecimo citat Minucium Felicem in eo, ut ait, libro, qui Octavius inscribitur: et ex eo verba quædam descripta recitat, quæ non patiuntur nos aut alium aliquem, aut alterius cujusquam Octavium fingere. Idem Lib. v. cap. 1. loquens de Christianorum, quos legerit, eloquentia, primo loco hunc Minucium laudat: Minucius (inquit) Felix, non ignobilis inter causidicos loci fuit. Hujus liber, cui OCTAVIUS titulus est, declarat, quam idoneus veritatis assertor esse potuisset, si se totum ad id studium contulisset. Testis alter est Hieronymus, qui hunc (sicuti ipse fatetur) Lactantium sequutus, in Catalogo scrip-torum Ecclesiasticorum<sup>1</sup> ait: Minucius Felix, Romæ insig-nis causidicus, scripsit Dialogum Christiani et Ethnici disputantium, qui OCTAVIUS inscribitur. Idem<sup>2</sup> in epistola<sup>2</sup> [p. 1084.] ad Magnum oratorem Romanum, Minucius (inquit) Felix, causidicus Romani fori, in libro, cui titulus OCTAVIUS est, quid gentilium scripturarum dimisit intactum? Jam autem non esse hunc librum Arnobii satis patet, quum Minucii esse appareat. Et vero quod Hieronymus in ea-dem epistola subjicit, indicare alioqui poterat, Arnobii non esse, quum quidem non nisi septem, qui etiamnum extant, libros adversus Gentes Arnobium scripsisse testetur. Cumque alterum quendam librum Minucio nostro falso in-scriptum fuisse narret, tanto miror doleoque magis, hunc,

1 cap. lviii. Cf.  
Ep. ad Pam.  
mach. 80.]

\* Hoc ante Balduinum nostrum viderat Hadr. Junius Animadv. Lib. vi. cap. i., licet hanc observationem, Lib. III. cap. i. Ant. Marillono re-

ferat acceptam. Vide et Pauli Leo-pardi Emendat. Lib. vi. cap. xxiv. DAVIS.

*qui ejus erat unicus καὶ γνήσιος, fuisse illi subreptum, alterique non domino injuste adscriptum: ut et plagio et partu supposito facta nostro Minucio duplex injuria esse videatur.* Sed haec frequens est querela de librariorum nihil non temere miscentium facinoribus. Fortasse, ut hunc libellum Arnobio quidam adscriberent, quedam styli et argumenti similitudo, quae imperitos persæpe fallit, fecit: et quum legerent OCTAVIUM, statim somniarunt octavum aliquem esse librum. Ridicule profecto et inepte. Saltem Arnobio perpetua oratione utenti Dialogum temere adscribendum non esse cogitassent. Verum inscitiae tam cœca quam confidens est audacia. Sane Hieronymus<sup>3</sup> scribit, Nepotianum suum tam in scriptoribus ecclesiasticis diligenter versatum fuisse; ut si quid ex iis proferretur, statim agnosceret atque discerneret, quid Tertulliani, quid Cypriani, quid Lactantii, quid Minucii, quid Victorini, quid Arnobii esset. Ceterum tanto magis miror, Erasmus eo loco, illum dico Erasmum, hominem acerrimo judicio præditum, et talium scriptorum minime obtusum censorem, adnotasse, hujus Minucii nihil nunc extare.

II. *Cujus potissimum Imperatoris temporibus Romæ vixerit noster Minucius, nondum mihi satis liquet. Hieronymus in suo Catalogo, quo scriptores Ecclesiasticos eo quo vixerunt ordine recensere videtur, illum Origeni proximum, Cypriano priorem fuisse, obscure significat. Sed ejus alioqui vel seculum vel ætatem non indicat. Certe in Cypriani de idolorum vanitate libello plurima sunt, quæ totidem verbis in Octavio Minucii leguntur: necesse ut sit, aut hunc ab illo, aut illum ab hoc <sup>b</sup>ea sumpsisse. Hieronymus vero in epistola ad Magnum, loquens de Latinis scriptoribus Ecclesiæ, etsi Minucium ante Cyprianum laudet, tamen illam de Idolis orationem ascribere Cypriano magis videtur. Sed et in apologia pro suis adversus Jovinianum libris, primo loco Tertullianum, secundo Cyprianum, tertio Minucium commemorat. Sabellicus, sed sine teste, adfirmat eum Romæ floruisse, quo tempore Urbanus ibi erat Episcopus: hoc est, temporibus Alexandri Severi Imperatoris. Si ita esset, esset Minucius antiquior Cypriano, æqualis Tertulliano, nostrisque adeo Jurisconsultis Ulpiano et Paulo. Verum etsi posteriorem fuisse credam, tamen proxime illa*

<sup>b</sup> [Nisi uterque summis ex Tertulliani *Apologetico*. C. A.]

*tempora sequutum esse existimo; nostra vero non attingere nisi intervallo longissimo, hoc est, annorum<sup>c</sup> prope CIO.CCC.*

III. Minuciam gentem olim Romæ nobilem fuisse memini, in qua quatuor consules Minucii Augurini intra annos quadraginta numerari possunt. Sed et Minucios Rufos, et Minucios Thermos in Fastis Consularibus lego. Denique et Minucius Fundanus Asice præses fuit illustris, ad quem Hadrianus Imp. non iniquam de Christianis legem misit: ut jam nihil dicam de eo, cuius in epistolis meminit<sup>1</sup> Plinius, vel<sup>1 Ep. i. 14, et vñ. 2.]</sup> quem ille noster laudat Julianus, cuius ad Minucium Natalem libri de jure civili laudantur. His vero omnibus unum Minucium Felicem, etsi non fuerit ejusdem aut gentis aut familie, facile antepono, etate quidem posteriorem, doctrina tamen, virtute et (quod primo loco numerandum est) pietate multo superiorem. Fuit enim non modo jurisconsultus magnus, et excellens suo tempore orator: sed et (quod magius est) fuit serio Christianus. Afrum fuisse suspicor, licet id adfirmare non ausim. Certe Frontonis Cirtensis (Cirta autem fuit nobilissima Numidiae civitas, cuius et in Pandectis mentio fit) ita<sup>2</sup> meminit, ut in Africa versatum se esse signif. facet. Estque genus dicendi, scribendique sequutus, quale Afri illi, Tertullianus, Cyprianus, Arnobius: ut jam de posterioribus non loquar, quos eadem olim aluit Africa, quae ut semper aliquid novi proferre dicebatur, sic etiam religionis nostræ vindices et patronos doctissimos, acerrimosque protulit, et ad ipsius quoque Romance Ecclesie præsidium atque defensionem emisit. Nam et ex eadem Africa prodibant hostes minime ignavi, neque improbi minus, quam vehementes calumniatores, qualis (ne longius abeam) fuit ille, cuius jam memini, Fronto: quem quidem tam impudentem rhetorem, quam impium Christianorum adversarium fuisse, ex Minucio intelligemus. Nolle hunc fuisse Papirium Frontonem Jurisconsultum, qui in Pandectis laudatur. Suspicer potius fuisse Cornelium Frontonem Rhetorem: quem Capitolinus narrat fuisse præceptorem M. Antonini Philosophi Imperatoris et ex cuius etiam schola oratoria accepimus produisse illum nostrum<sup>3</sup> Melitonem, qui ad Sardensem Episcopum, auctorem Apologie pro Christianis. Hieronym. de Vir. Illustr. c. 24.]

<sup>c</sup> Prodiit haec Dissertatio A. D. M.DLX.

[cap. ii.]

<sup>1</sup>[Tractat. de  
gratia Det.  
§ 1.]Lib. II. de  
Orat. cap. vi.

**IV.** *Minucium nostrum Romæ causas egisse, paulo ante ex Lactantio et Hieronymo dictum est: neque hoc ipse dissimulat, cum vindemiarum feriis curam judicariam sibi remissam fuisse narrat. Sic enim et Ulpianus in Pandectis Lege I. de Feriis scribit, M. Antonini Imperat. oratione expressum fuisse, ne quis messium aut vindemiarum tempore adversarium cogereret ad judicium venire. Sicuti et Suetonius cap. xxxv. narrat Augustum statuisse, ne Septembri Octobrivate mense necesse esset in Senatum venire. Imo vero et ipse Cyprianus, tanquam alter Minucius, in sua epistola<sup>1</sup> ad Donatum, meminit ejus temporis, quo (ut ait) indulgentie vindemia solitus animus in quietem solennes et statas anni fatigantis inducias sortitur. At tum quidem secessus amoenos captare se ait, ubi de rebus divinis cogitet. Non dissimilis est narratio nostri Minucii. Felices vero illæ feriæ, quibus a foro subselliisque abductus nobilissimus causidicus est ad religiosam sive commentarym, sive disputationem. Cicero, quod abs nostro Scœvola accepit, narrat Lælium cum Scipione solitum esse rusticari: eosque incredibiliter repuerascere esse solitos, cum rus ex urbe tanquam ex vinculis evolassent: conchas etiam et umbilicos ad Cajetam et ad Lucrinum legere consuesse, et ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque descendere. Ejus vero exempli statim mihi in mentem venit, quum Minucium audirem, relicto strepitu forensi, cum suo Octavio rusticari, et in littore Ostiensi suaviter spectare puerilem, quem describit, ludum. Sed cum deinde audio, quam in illo secessu et gravis et seria de religione disputatio fuerit, et quale sit in deserto fornice concilium; sentio, nunquam coactum Romæ fuisse senatum majori de re: nullumque forum, urbem nullam, nullum negotium, illi sive otio sive solitudini prætulero; scipiisque ut jurisconsulti eo modo feriari, secedere, atque rusticari aliquando velint, optare cogor. An in eorum animos cadere non potest sancta aliqua, et religiosa, et secreto suo digna rerum divinarum cogitatio? Lactantius innuit Minucium sese totum non contulisse ad studium rerum Ecclesiasticarum. Sed tanto nobilior ejus jurisprudentia fuit, quæ qualis esse debet, in republica fuit: et rerum diuinarum humanarumque curam et cognitionem conjunxit: tantoque propere magis ejus exemplum nostri ordinis hominibus commendando, ut saltem diebus nefastis in otio melioris religionis*

*fastos excolant, usque se dent atque addicant. Habebant olim feriantes Romani suam decursionem Tiberinam, cuius meminit Cicero, lib. v. de Fin. cap. 24. suamque (ut<sup>d</sup> leges nostra vocant) Majumam ad Ostiam. Sed excursio nostri Minucii quam minime aut otiosa aut ludicra fuit? digna projecto, cuius vestigia libenter conspicere Augustinus: et illum recessum, in quo habita est disputatio, salutaret, cum in ecclesia Ostiensi matrem suam Monicam sepeliret. Evidem religiosi ejus colloqui, quod sancta haec matrona cum filio suo habuit ad ostia illa Tiberina, (sicuti ipse recitat<sup>2</sup>) neminisse soleo, quoties Dialogum hunc Minucium lego.*

<sup>2</sup>[Confess.  
Lib. XI. cap. x.  
sqq.]

V. Quænam esset Romani fori conditio, cum in eo versaretur Minucius, quæque Ecclesiæ in ea urbe tunc facies esset, ejus ætatis memoria plane ostendit: et quæ aliquando scripsi ad Edicta veterum Principum Romanorum de Christianis, eam rem illustrant. Neque ignota historia temporum, quibus Decius aut Valerianus imperavit. Bene vero habet: Jurisconsultis, quorum de jure civili responsa legitimus, non solum abs religione alienis, sed et ejus acerrimis adversariis, successisse Christianum causidicum: et illud sive forum, sive collegium Romance togæ atque advocationis, quod tot jam annis conspersum fuerat sanguine et cineribus piorum hominum, tandem aliquando voce et vestigiis Christiani juris periti expiatum atque consecratum fuisse. Arnobius<sup>1</sup> libro primo gloriatur, et oratores et jurisconsultos, <sup>1</sup>[Immo libro il. cap. 5.] magnis (ut ait) ingenii præditos, transiisse ad ecclesiam. Credo equidem, quum id scriberet, de Minucio *cum suo cogitasse*. Multos ejus ordinis fortasse numerare vix potuisset. Sed Minucii tamen exemplum quosdam sequutos esse credo: ut et Minucius habuit, quos in eodem studio sequeretur. Saltem Hieronymus ad Magnum, ubi Minucium laudat, meminit duorum Romance urbis Senatorum, Hippolyti et Apollonii, qui, ut et inter scriptores Ecclesiasticos referuntur, meriti sint. Quid dicam de illo<sup>2</sup> Vettio Epagatho Lugdunensi, qui olim et multis quidem ante Minucium annis et fuit, et partim ignominie, partim honoris causa (ut varia tunc erant hominum de religione judicia) publice appellatus est<sup>3</sup> Advocatus Christianorum? An horum causam aliquando in foro Rom. Minucius egerit, nescio. Certe<sup>4</sup> Ter-

<sup>1</sup> Titulo utriusque codicis de M-  
juma. SUIDAS Ostiæ eos ludos  
celebratos addit, quorum summa

fuit ηδυταθειν ἐν τοῖς θαλαττίοις  
ὑδασιν, δλλῆλους ἀμβάλλοντες.  
LINDNER.

<sup>2</sup>[Martyr  
Lugdunensis  
sub M. Anto-  
nio et L. Ve-  
ro. Testes  
Euseb. Hist.  
Ecc. v. 1, et  
Gregorius Tu-  
ronensis i. 29.]

<sup>3</sup>[παράδηλος  
Χριστιανός,  
Euseb. i. 1.]

<sup>4</sup> Apology. c. ii.

tullianus vix hoc licuisse significat, et tam odiosa tunc erat eorum sive religio, sive ecclesia, cui status reipublice imperiique Rom. adversabatur, totque jam erat publicis praedictis confossa, ut ipsius nominis Christiani confessio ad damnationem satis esset. Tantum abest, ut hujus religionis esset, quæ libertatis erat, assertio. Sed tanto magis interea miror, in tam profano et inimico foro consistere causidicum pium potuisse. Mirum vero, quum jam annis prope ducentis orbis Romanus et palam et publice et libere Christo nomen dedisset, auctoribus ipsis Imperatoribus, visam esse legem necessariam, quæ et tandem lata est, ut in nullo foro vel advocatus vel causidicus esset ullus, vel jus postulandi quisquam haberet, qui Christianus non esset, Leg. VIII. Cod. de Postul. Quam fuit itaque nobile Minucii nostri exemplum, qui bonarum partium, quantum potuit, patronus Romæ fuit, quo tempore nondum impune hoc liciebat? certe Christianis tunc erat interdictum foro, neque ius postulandi prætor dabat. Verum etsi magis illi palliati quam togati esse solerent: tamen quia ius respubica saepe carere non poterat, aliquando togatos esse eos, et eorum quosdam aliquid in repub. munus obire, passi sunt ethnici principes. Christiani Imperatores deinde multo fuere indulgentiores, qui eos et consules et prefectos Urbi atque etiam Prætorio interdum creabant, quos alioqui non ignorabant esse acerrimos hostes religionis, quod intelligi potest vel ex unius Symmachii conditione. Sed facti tandem aliquando sunt severiores, et senatum forumque Romanum perpurgarunt, et Minucios quosdam esse jusserunt, quicunque vel jus dicerent, vel causas agerent. Aram Victoriae, quæ in vestibulo curiae stabat, ad quam senatus jurare atque sacrificare solebat, jam pridem everterant, ipso etiam et <sup>5</sup> Symmacho et senatu reclamante. Sed effecerunt postremo, ut non modo a tali superstitione liberi essent omnes togati, sed etiam ut nulla in foro nisi Christiana esset illa jurisprudentia, cuius jam olim aliqua in Minucio nostro effigies fuerat.

VI. Minuciani hujus *Libelli inscriptio*, et *Dialogi* forma, antiquum eruditumque scribendi morem refert. Genius dicendi est argutum, acre, vehemens. Est pressum, densum, nervosum, crebris sententiis compactum, omniumque antiquitatum atque historiarum memoria refertum: et in quo plures sententias, quam periodos numerare possis. Nam neque verbosi olim fuerunt Christiani, qui verba dare

<sup>5</sup> [Lib. x.  
Epist. 64. ed.  
Jureli.]

nondum didicerant: et eorum patroni erant homines docti, ac (ut uno verbo dicam) polyhistores. Quod ad falsa crimina attinet, non tam verbis et libellis quam vita et re ipsa refellebant adversarios.

VII. Questio, quæ hic proponitur, et causa, qua de agitur, magna est, de religione nempe vera aut falsa. Acer-  
rima utrinque est actio atque contentio. Exitus et victoria est, qualis esse debet, ubi verum cum falso configit. Ma-  
larum partium vehemens patronus, et bonarum gravis hostis est Cœcilius Natalis. Harum contra vindicta, et illa-  
rum accusator accerrimus atque justissimus est Octavius Januarius. Medius sedet bonus judex atque arbiter Minu-  
cius Felix. Contentionis occasio fuit, quod cum hic cum duobus illis, quos nominari, in littore Ostiensi ambularet, ab Octavio Christiano reprehensus sit Cœcilius ethnicus, qui occurrens idolo Serapidis, illud colere se significasset. Sane olim Pisone et Gabinio Coss. Serapidis sacra Capito-  
lio et urbe fuerant ejecta: sed postea fuerunt restituta, et [Tertullian.  
Apolog. c. vi.] in suburbii facile haerebant. Reprehensus Cœcilius fremit, et tanquam irritatus graviter in Christianorum religionem invehitur: suamque simul superstitionem defendens, Octa-  
vium veluti lassedit. Sed imprudens incurrit in adversarium fortem et acrem: et (ut ille ait)

\* Fragili cupiens illidere dentem,  
Infregit solido.

VIII. Causæ status non unus est. Cœcilius varie et confuse agit de multis. Octavius pleraque et depellit sola inficiatione, et retorquet justa recriminatione. Quædam ingenuæ confitetur: sed jure defendit. Itaque hæc disceptatio partim facti, partim juris questionibus constat. Ter-  
tullianus antea, et ante Tertullianum, Justinus et Athe-  
nagoras, quorum extant apologetici libelli, et postea Cyprianus partim contra Demetrianum, partim in libello de vanit. idol. et multo deinde magis Arnobius atque Lactantius hanc causam egerunt: et usi plerumque sunt non iisdem modo et sententiis et argumentis, sed et verbis et formulis. Sic enim majores nostri eadem de iisdem (ut ille olim dicebat) dicere solebant. Atque utinam posteritas tale observasset exemplum: ambitiosa novitas bonam antiquita-  
tem non inquinasset. Velim sane apologetas eorum, quos

\* Apud Horatium, Lib. II. Sat. I. v. 77, legitur offendet solido.

dixi, cum hoc Minuciano libello conferri; ut alium nunc commentarium colligere non sit necesse. Multa ex veterum philosophorum disputationibus et poetarum fabulis, et Romana, Graecaque historia subtiliter et doce hic repetuntur. Verum ineptum esset iis de rebus annotationes multas et ociosas hoc loco inculcare. Mallem que ad antiquatum Christianarum memoriam pertinent, copiose explicare. Sed et harum commentariis aliis dabitur liberior locus: nam iis, quos jam inchoavi, absolvendis aliquando me dedam. Jam vero propter illos, quos dixi, libellos, valde velim etiam hic legi et comparari adversarias orationes Symmachi et Ambrosii: ut, quam causam acriter quidem, sed privatum tamen, quo tempore Christianis palam esse vix licebat, actam esse ex Minucio audiemus, eandem multis post annis publice in aulico consistorio iterum iterumque agitatam, in eaque nobilem Romanorum sacrorum patronum, qui et Pont. Max. et Praefectus Urbi erat, cum maximo et acerrimo antistite Christianae religionis commissum, quo tempore nostri liberi erant, et bona aequaque conditione, audiamus: praesertim cum judex et arbiter sederet, non modo tam religiosus, quam Minucius, sed multo majoris auctoritatis, et qui rem bene judicatam exequi, et adversarii calumniatoris petulantiam reprimere atque coercere posset. Siquis denique hic adjungat Augustini libros de civitate Dei, ad Octavii disputationem multum lucis et splendoris adjunxerit. Ego in talibus commentariis nunc describendis non immorabor. Sed breviter tantum delibabo quedam capita Minuciani libelli, ut lectorem præmoneam.

IX. Cæcilius principio laudat nescio quam sive Academicam ἀκαταληψίαν, sive Pyrrhonicam ἐποχὴν, quasi nulla esset religionis scientia, et Epicurea audacia exagitat Dei providentiam, prope ut ille Cotta<sup>1</sup> apud Ciceronem in libris de Natura Deorum: Octavius providentiam defendit: neque iis etiam argumentis uti dignatur, quibus Velleius apud eundem Ciceronem refellit Cottæ vanitatem. Cæcilius exprobabat, Christianos Deo, ut quidam fato, addicere, quicquid agitur geriturve. Abs verbo Fati, tametsi odioso propter ineptias Stoicorum, qui ea voce abutebantur,

<sup>1</sup> Transposita et confusa vocabula. C. enim VELLEIUS, senator, est ille Epicureus qui in libro i de Oratore inde ab viii capite ad xxi Dei

providentiam impugnat, cui C. CORTA, Academicus, respondet a capite illo xxi ad finem libri. Adde initium libri ii.

*non abhorret Octavius. Sed longiorem ea de re disputationem in aliud tempus rejicit, et eum veluti scopulum caute refugit. Sane Hieronymus in Catalogo<sup>1</sup> et ad Magnum<sup>2</sup> testis est, quendam de fato librum olim Minucio inscriptum fuisse. Sed falsam fuisse inscriptionem monet. Credo illi a quibusdam esse ascriptum, quia hic videbatur tale aliquid esse pollicitus. Arnobius, quem Minucii discipulum et imitatorem appellare soleo, modo adversarios de fato accusat, modo etiam Christianos eodem nomine accusatos fuisse ostendit: et in utraque tamen causa, cum ad rem ventum est, haeret, et nescio quo modo attonitus ἐπέχει. Nam (juvat enim propter Minucium et quosdam alios obiter hoc notare)*

<sup>1</sup> Libr. VII, posteaquam exagitavit fatum, præsertim quale<sup>3</sup> [cap. xii.] Stoici fingebant: has tamen (*inquit*) partes, quia res nimium longi est multique sermonis, inexplicatas transcurrimus atque intactas. *Idem* Libr. II. cum scriberet Christianos urgeri rogatos, an sine Dei voluntate quicquam fieret: tam se utrinque premi sentit, ut ad elabendum deprecatione cuiusdam ignorantiae utatur. Si (*inquit*) cuncta ejus voluntate conficiuntur, nec citra ejus nutum quicquam potest in rebus vel provenire vel cadere: necessario sequitur, ut mala etiam cuncta voluntate ejus intelligentur enasci. Sin autem dicere voluerimus, pessimorum ab eo reincidentes causas, mali esse conscientum generatoremque nullius: incipient videri aut eo invito res pessimæ fieri, aut (quod sit immane dixisse) nesciente, ignaro, ac nescio.

X. *Quid igitur tandem, inter has veluti Symplegadas constrictus, quæstioni respondet?* Respondeamus (*inquit*) necesse est, nescire nos ista, etc. Justinus *antea in sua*<sup>1</sup> [I. cap. xiii.] *apologia non dubitaverat τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκην* (ut appellat) *aperte inſiciari, planeque rejicere, dum scopulum unum, quem imminere alioqui putat vult effugere.* Atqui tunc in alterum incurrit, quem non minus aut Minucius aut Arnobius reformidasse videtur. Tandem vero Augustinus *in eadem Africa volens veluti persolvere, quod Minucius pollicitus esse dicebatur, et, quod hic præstare fortasse vix potuisset, cumulate dependere; subtiliter exposuit in hac quæſtione medium quidpiam, quo satisfieri posse judicavit difficultati.* Sciebant et Minucius et Arnobius, quænam olim fuisset dissensio disputatioque inter Chrysippum et Diodorum περὶ δυνατῶν καὶ εἰμαρμένης, sive de FATO. Nam

*et nos ex Cicerone et Plutarcho illam utcunque cognoscimus. Sed ne in hujus quidem judicibus et arbitris nostri quicquam deprehendebant, quod omnino sequerentur. Itaque quamdiu non liquebat, AMPLIUS pronunciare, quam temere aliquid statimque definire maluerunt.*

XI. Redeo ad Caeciliūm. *Is suorum numinum antiquitatem, passimque receptam auctoritatem, quantum potest, tuetur: Christianorum Deum verum et unicum exagit, et eos interea tanquam abeōs proscindit. Octavius idolorum fabulam et vanitatem salse traducit, iisdem etiam verbis usus, quibus Cyprianus in eodem argumēto utitur. Neque vero difficilis fuit reprehensio, cum quidem et ipsius Ciceronis libri de Natura Deorum veluti suffragarentur: nam et Arnobius<sup>1</sup> testis est, propterea quosdam Christianorum hostes aliquando mussitasse, libros illos jussu senatus abollendos atque concremandos esse. Quid? res ipsa, quae abs suis quoque cultoribus est irrīsa (nulla enim unquam stultior atque ineptior fabula ullius superstitionis fuit) ultro sese refellebat. Sed quod huc pertinebat, facile describere potuit Minucius ex Tertulliano, Justino, Athenagora, Theophilo: ut et postea ex Minucio Arnobius, Lactantius, Ambrosius, Augustinus, cum eandem causam agerent. Certe quod Octavius de Saturno narrat, Lactantius, ipsum Minucium auctorem laudans, repetit, latiusque exponit Libr. I. cap. xi. Ut autem Octavius totam fabulam Romanæ superstitionis salse subsannat: sic et ipsorum oraculorum, quibus tantopere gloriabantur ethnici, vanitatem eleganter ostendit; ac ante suam quidem cætatem oraculum Apollinis Pythii destisse significat: sicuti et Plutarchus fatetur temporibus Adriani Imperatoris plane defecisse. Sic enim cum Christianæ religionis veritas invalesceret, necesse fuit evanescere imposturam illorum τῶν χρηστηρίων. Porro<sup>2</sup> Octavius de daemonib[us] et eorum, cum abs Christianis adjurantur, trepidatione narrat, quod antea<sup>3</sup> Justinus et<sup>4</sup> Tertullianus in Apologetico et Cyprianus contra Demetrianum,<sup>5</sup> Lib. iv. cap. 27. et postea<sup>6</sup> Lactantius Divin. Institut. Itaque facile refellit ipsum quoque Ulpianum, Christianos, ut impostores, hujus (ut vocant) exorcizationis causa, irridentem Lege I de extraordinaria cognitione. Inanes non fuisse exorcismos posterioribus quoque temporibus, et fuisse frequentes in Ecclesia intelligi quoque potest ex Optato Afro, et Augustino, scriptoribus a Minucio minime alienis,*

<sup>1</sup> [adv. Genit. Lib. III. cap. vii.]

<sup>2</sup> [cap. xxvi.]

<sup>3</sup> [Apolog. II. cap. vi.]

<sup>4</sup> [cap. xxii.]

<sup>5</sup> Lib. iv. cap.

27.

XII. Sed et de Deo unico multa Octavius<sup>1</sup> inculcat, <sup>1 [cap. xviii.]</sup> non dissimilia iis, quae Justinus περὶ μοναρχίας et Clemens Alexandrinus collegerant. Nam et utrumque legisse noster potuit. Neque vero præterit, quod <sup>2</sup>Cyprianus urget, <sup>2 [de Idoll. Vanit. cap. v. 8.]</sup> ipsum quoque vulgus naturaliter appellare Deum unum et singularem, cum Numen invocat; sicuti et Lactantius libro secundo, capite primo, ait, Ethnicos, cum jurarent, Deum potius quam Jovem nominasse. In antiqua formula juris-jurandi Rom. nominatur Diespiter. Sed Cicero libro<sup>3</sup> sep-<sup>3 [ep. 12.]</sup> timo epist. ad Trebat. dixit, jurare Jovem lapidem. Sæpe etiam Jovis meminisse olim jurantes constat, et apud Græcos Zeùs ὄρκios est appellatus. Mirum vero, quod Cœcilius gloriatur, ignotis etiam numinibus Romanos aras extruxisse. Nam quid hoc aliud est, quam errorem confiteri? Talem aram Paulus Athenis vidisse se<sup>4</sup> ait, et ex ea sumit <sup>4 [Act. Apost. xvii. 23.]</sup> argumentum convincendæ hujus ignorantiae, docendorum que Atheniensium. Neque in Attica modo, sed et Eliæ fuisse aras ita inscriptas, testis est <sup>5</sup>Pausanias. Et fortasse <sup>5</sup>dynastōν θεῶν βουλός. postea Octavius quum docere Cœciliūm instituit, Pauli ex- <sup>Eliac. Lib. I. cap. 14.</sup> emplo inde repetiit suæ catecheseos de veri Dei cognitione principium.

XIII. Illud quoque mirum videri posset, Cœciliūm gloriari, quæ apud alios populos singula numina coluntur, universa Romæ coli: nihil ut supersit, quam ut suum Pantheon gloriose ostentet. Atqui obstabat lex Romuli, que peregrinos Deos coli vetabat. Obstabat Ciceronis sententia, qui confusionem religionum alioqui fore pronunciat. Sed peregrinos fortasse non judicabant, quia jam erant publice acciti, et veluti civitate donati. Sic urbs illa, quæ ab Athenæo lib. I. cap. xvii. scite dicta erat ἐπιτομὴ τῆς οἰκουμένης, salse abs Theophilo nostro ante Minucii actatem appellata est ἐπιτομὴ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας. Nam et Tertullianus<sup>1</sup> dixerat, in ea consedisse conventum daemoniorum, <sup>1 [de Spectaculis, cap. vii.]</sup> curiamque Deorum. Interea non temere adjecit, illic quid-vis colere jus fuisse præter Deum verum. Estque profecto memorabile quod <sup>2</sup>Augustinus de consensu Evangelistarum scribit, cur illum unum non coluerint Romani, qui colebant omnes alios. Quia (inquit) solum se coli voluerit, illos autem Deos gentium, quos isti jam colebant, coli prohibuerit. Quum autem de ipso Christo quæreretur, alia etiam causa fuit, cur Senatus reclamaret. Porro ut Augustinus in eo libro multa inculcat, quæ ex-

*nostro Octavio repetita videri possent, sic et quod eleganter respondet de excidio Hierosolymitano, Octavii de eadem re responsionem confirmat. Sed singula nunc describere nihil attinet. Redeo ad Minucianum auditorium.*

XIV. Cæcilius Christianos accusat quod templa tanquam busta despiciant. Fatetur Octavius. Nam et Clemens Alexandrinus in <sup>1</sup>προρρητικῷ antea probaverat illa esse sepulchra. Sed et Arnobius<sup>2</sup> templa bustis superlata fuisse ait. Ceterum Christiani alia postea ratione ex suorum Martyrum sepulchris, non modo templa, sed et altaria effecerunt. Neque non potuit Minucius ea vidisse. Sed ita est projecto. Etsi majores nostri religionis nomine multa facerent in speciem similia iis que ab ethnicis siebant: tamen quia alius erat finis, aliisque usus, sua sacra defendi posse sciebant, etsi aliorum κακοζηλίας damnarent. Sacrificiorum Romanorum ritus quam valde irrident! Atqui non dissimilis eorum, que lege divina Iudeis mandata erant, forma fuit.

XV. Etsi autem Christiani cœtate nostri Minucii sua templa superbe attollere ad exemplum ethnicorum non possent, tamen suas saltēm habebant cryptas, et quasdam etiam cœdes et domus sacras in apertis et editis locis, ut Tertullianus<sup>1</sup> ait, et lubenter conveniebant ad illa suorum martyrum sepulchra, quae κοιμητήρια vocabant. Nam et haec illis permisisse Gallienum Imper. (qui Minucii cœtatem non longo intervallo attigit) <sup>2</sup>Eusebius scribit. Ridet autem Cæcilius, quod Christiani suos jam vita functos, non tam mortuos esse, quam dormire dicerent et crederent corporumque resurrectionem futuram jactarent. Atqui et apud suum <sup>3</sup>Homerum legerat, ἵπνωρρας ἔγείρει, et apud <sup>4</sup>Virgilium somnos adimere, cum de mortuis in vitam revocandis agitur. Quid præterea hic responderit Octavius, conferri potest cum iis que antea Theophilus, Athenagoras, Justinus, Tertullianus eadem de re scripsere: nam hos secutus Minucius est. <sup>5</sup>Ridet Cæcilius Christianos, quod cadavera ungant, non coronent. Atqui et Romani, etsi quid agerent ignorantem, unguenta funebria habebant. Notus est ille Ennii versiculus,

Tarquinii corpus bona femina lavit et unxit.

Et licet Leges duodecim Tabularum servilem uncturam cadaverum (ut ait <sup>6</sup>Cicero) tollerent aliam tamen relinquerent: et ipsi Jurisconsulti inter justos funeris sumptus

<sup>1</sup> [c. x. § 91.  
p. 74. ed. Pot-  
ter. δευ-  
νύπτε τῶν  
εἰδώλων τὰ  
τεμένη τά-  
φους τυνός η  
θεομαρτύρια.]  
<sup>2</sup> Lib. vi.

<sup>1</sup> [adv. Valen-  
tin. c. iii. : de  
Idiotatria  
c. vii. : cf. Dio-  
nya. Alex. ap.  
Euseb. vii.  
n. 14.]  
<sup>2</sup> [Hist.  
Eccl. Lib.  
vii. c. 18.]

<sup>3</sup> P. O. 844.  
<sup>4</sup> En. iv. 244.

<sup>5</sup> [cap. xii.]

<sup>6</sup> de Legg.  
Lib. II. cap.  
24.

unguenta referunt l. trigesima septima, De Religios. et Sumpt. fun.

XVI. Quod ad coronas cadaverum attinet, fatetur Octavius Christianis ineptas videri: et eos propterea in eo genere ethnicos imitari nolle. Tertullianus<sup>1</sup> in libro de Corona militis ait, a seculo coronari et ipsas Libilitinas: et ipse Cicero pro Flacco<sup>2</sup> meminit aureæ coronæ impo-<sup>3</sup> sitæ mortuo cuidam Castricio. Verum quid antique leges Romanae de coronis cadaverum statuerent, dixi ad duodecim Tabulas. Denique ridet et indignatur Cœcilius, apud Christianos cadavera humari, non uri. Verum est vetus illud, Risu inepto nihil est ineptius. Quid Octavius? Simpliciter respondet, antiquam esse suam et meliorem sepeliendi consuetudinem. Quod et Arnobius respondit: nam et post Minucium mota iterum hac quæstio est. Atqui Romani poterant sui saltē Ciceronis librum secundum de legibus cap. xxii. legisse, qui hunc morem defendit et confirmat. Et Plinius libro septimo, capite quinquagesimo quarto, Ipsum, inquit, cremare, non fuit veteris instituti apud Romanos: terra condebantur. Sane<sup>3</sup> Tertullianus<sup>3</sup> cap. xii. de Corona militis ait Christiano non licuisse cremare, et<sup>4</sup> de Resurrectione carnis ridet eos, qui atrocissime (ut<sup>4</sup> cap. i.) ait) exurunt defunctos. Porro Augustinus libro undecimo Confess. significat, in Ecclesia Ostiensi peculiarem aliquem etiam fuisse morem humandorum corporum. An is quoque jam tum in usu esset, cum ibi ageret Minucius, nescio. Ridiculum vero, quod Cœcilius, severus scilicet censor, Christianos accusat, quia neque unguentis delibuti, neque sertis redimiti essent. Mirum, quod interea non miratur, eos tamen usos jam tum fuisse oleo et chrismate. Sane sobriam, siccam, frugalemque vitam, hoc est, ab unguentis alienam, ipsi etiam ethnici laudare solebant: et<sup>5</sup> Plato ex sua Repub.<sup>5</sup> [Lib. iii. p. 398, A.] quam optimam suo iudicio fingit, Homerum non ejicit nisi unguento perfusum et vittis redimitum, et (ut hic noster Octavius ait) coronatum: cum significaret sese habere nolle cives tam molles. Ac, ne longius abeam, Vespasianus quendam unguentis madentem, et gratias agentem pro impetrata praefectura, aversatus, Mallem, inquit, allium oleres. Sed quid non objiceret Cœcilius, cum etiam Christianos accuset, quia flores naribus supponerent, nec capiti coronando imponerent. Atqui ipse<sup>6</sup> Lucianus in suo Nigrino ipsos<sup>6</sup> [§ 80.] Romanos rectius irridet, quod Christianos hic non imiten-

*tur, et faciant contra naturam, planeque nihil aut sapient, aut sentient. Adde<sup>7</sup> Tertullianum de Corona militis.*

<sup>7</sup>[Cap. v. Tam contra naturam est flos, capite sectari, quam sonum nare.]

XVII. Ceterum Cæcilius, ut alter Lucianus in Peregrino, Christianos irridet, quod colant hominem crucifixum. Octavius breviter negat hominem tantum esse, quem colunt: et regerit, adversarios potius esse ἀθρωπολάτρας, qui reges tanquam Deos colant, et per eorum etiam genium jurent: quin imo gravius puniant ita pejerantem, quam si quis suum Jovem jurando sciens falleret. Suspicor hic notari quandam constitutionem Alexandri Severi: quæ tamen relata est in libros juris L. II. Cod. de rebus credit. Sane olim Christianos noluisse uti tali formula jurisjurandi, testis est Tertullianus<sup>1</sup> in Apologetico. Sed tanto magis miror, eam posteriorum Cæsarum Christianorum legibus commendari.

<sup>1</sup>[cap. x.]

XVIII. Cæcilius contumeliose objicit, Christianos etiam ipsam crucem adorare. Negat Octavius. Adversarius iis ut furciferis maledicit. Noster (non enim eum pudet crucis Christianæ) cruciferos suo modo dici, non recusat, et de suo crucis signo religioso (quod certe majoribus olim nostris familiare fuit) respondet, quod antea<sup>1</sup> Justinus et<sup>2</sup> Tertullianus scripserant, et postea Lactantius libro quarto, capite vigesimo septimo. Nam et quanti illud fecerit Constantinus, notum est: certe ut vulgo res minus esset ignominiosa, edixit, ne deinceps facinorosi cruci affligerentur. Non desiit tamen Julianus Apostata, ut Cæcilius, Christianis ignominiae causa exprobare crucis cultum, sicuti ex<sup>3</sup> Cyrillo intelligi potest.

<sup>1</sup>[Apolog. I. cap. lxxii.]  
<sup>2</sup>[Apolog. cap. XVI.]

<sup>3</sup> contra Julian. Lib. VI. p. 194, seqq.

XIX. Mira est impudentia calunniæ. Eo tandem evasit, ut nescio quæ sacrorum monstra Christianis objicerent adversarii, et qualia demens (ut quidam<sup>1</sup> poeta dixit) Ægyptus portenta colit. Audet etiam Cæcilius fingere illos<sup>2</sup> adorare caput asini, quanquam primus hoc non finixerit. <sup>3</sup>Octavius tam putidam calumniam inficiatione depellit, et id potius de adversariis vere dici posse, recriminando probat, secutus suum<sup>4</sup> Tertullianum: qui et Christianos vulgo dictos esse asinarios, et Christum ipsum auribus asininis tanquam aliquem Midam ab impio pictore expressum suisse narrat. Talem autem confictam fabulam esse significat, quod<sup>5</sup> Cornelius Tacitus mentiendo tale quippiam de Judæis recitasset. Verum et ante Tacitum multis annis Apio Alexandrinus tempore Caligulae in Judæis accusaverat quandam ὄνολαρπειαν. Ceterum cum<sup>6</sup> Josephus tale

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal. Sat. xv. init.

<sup>2</sup>[cap. ix.]

<sup>3</sup>[cap. xxviii.]

<sup>4</sup>[Apol. cap. XVI; ad Nat. II.]

<sup>5</sup>[Hist. v. 8.]

<sup>6</sup>[c. Apion. Lib. II. p. 1066. ed. Genov.]

*mendacium jam refutasset, minus ignoscendum est Tacito, qui in eo perstat; minime vero illis, qui majori etiam impudentia Christianis hoc probrum aspergunt.*

XX. *Turpius est, quod<sup>1</sup> Cæcilius eodem pudore clamitat,<sup>1</sup> cap. ix.] eos colere nescio quæ pudenda. Ecquo ruit impura maledicentia? Octavius suæ verecundiae esse intelligit, id longiori oratione non refellere. Interea audire cogitur alia non minus nefanda, cum<sup>2</sup> Cæcilius declamaret, nefarios esse Christianorum cœtus antelucanos, incesto et parricidio pollutos, prope ut olim erant Romæ Bacchanalia.<sup>3</sup> Octavius talia<sup>3</sup> cap. viii.] crimina non solum abs suis depellit, sed etiam retorquet in adversarios. Quam incesta essent Romanorum sacra, non est ignotum. Nam et eorum<sup>4</sup> poeta, Nota Bonæ, Sat. vi. 814. inquit, secreta Deæ. Diu etiam humanas victimas immolarunt: etsi in aliis gentibus hanc, non jam dico sanctam, sed sanguinariam et sceleratam feritatem reprehenderent. Est autem memorabile, quod Plutarchus in *Problemat.* narrat eos obtendisse ad hoc suum factum excusandum, aliorumque damnandum. Mirum vero, Christianis sacra talia objecta fuisse. Fuit tamen vetus et diurna hæc calumnia: et quidem promiscuae libidinis coitio, et quia Christiani sese fratres sororesque appellarent, atque etiam osculo sese invicem exciperent. Quid dicam osculo quosdam impudice abusos esse, ut et fatetur et conqueritur Clemens Alexandrinus in<sup>5</sup> *Pædagogo?* Christiani satis multa castissimi sui<sup>5</sup> Lib. iii. cap. xi. § 81.] pudoris testimonia opponebant. Sed nihil audit impudens malevolentia, quæ ut linguam habet intemperantem, sic neque frontem, neque aures habet. Sane et olim Apionem tale quippiam de *Judæorum cœtibus confinxisse* narrat Josephus. Ergo nihil nostris tali infamia oppressis aliud superfuit, quam, quod scite et eleganter Æschylus ait, τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀντιθέντα τῷ χρόνῳ. Non erant impostores, qui verba darent: non homines clamosi et impotentes, qui convitiis, maledictis, libellis famosis adversarios vicissim opprimere vellent. Rebus ipsis falsum refellere et eo tandem modo vincere sedendo et silendo, malebant: et bona interea conscientia sese sustentabant atque consolabantur. Sic bonam causam agebant bene.*

XXI. *Mirum rursus, Cæcilio tam insolentem visam<sup>1</sup> [cap. ix. 2.] esse illam inter eos fraterni nominis communionem, cum et ipse Ulpianus scripserit, eum, qui fraterna caritate diligitur, etsi frater non sit, recte tamen fratrem simpliciter*

*appellari: quod et in libros juris relatum est, L. quinquagesima octava De haeredib. instit. Quin immo et olim ipsos Essaos, ante tempora Christianorum, ita sese invicem compellasse, didici ex quodam Philonis fragmanto, quod extat apud Eusebium<sup>2</sup> περὶ τροπαρασκευῆς.*

<sup>2</sup> Lib. viii.  
cap. xii.  
<sup>1</sup> [cap. ix. 7.]

XXII. Horribilis est alterum quod objiciebatur<sup>1</sup> crimen infanticidii: ceperitque haec calumnia paulo post tempora Trajani, et ad Constantini etatem perduravit, et quidem cum tragica suspicione cuiusdam cæna Thystear. Sed unde haec suspicio? An quia Christiani dicere solerent se vesci corpore et sanguine Christi? sicut e diverso narrat Augustinus quosdam aliquando existimasse ab Christianis adorari Cererem et Bacchum, cum audirent in eorum mysteriis tanti fieri panem et vinum, neque aliqui rem intelligerent. Quid dicam, quod <sup>2</sup>Epiphanius narrat quosdam haereticos, qui Gnostici et Cataphryges et Pepuziani appellabantur, se vero Christianos esse mentiebantur, commisso, quod hic Cæcilius omnibus Christianis objicit? Sed an æquum fuit, ut viris bonis propterea affingeretur, quod ab iis erat alienissimum? Adversarii loco probationis obtendebant famam et rumorem. Sed nullo quoque jure id fieri, leges civiles pro nostris respondebant, et ipse Quintilianus Inst. Orator. lib. v. cap. 3. dixit, nulli non etiam innocentissimo accidere posse fraude inimicorum falsa vulgantium, ut sinistro rumore laboret. Quam vero procul abessent Christiani abs omni homicidio, satis <sup>3</sup> Octavius ostendit, cum ne homicidium quidem in ludis gladiatoriis spectare eos per suam religionem potuisse narrat, quod et antea <sup>4</sup>Theophilus dixit ad Autolycum, et eodem tempore <sup>5</sup>Athenagoras in *Apologia*, et latius Tertullianus in libro<sup>6</sup> de Spectaculis et postea Lactantius libro sexto, capite vigesimo. Sed neque cæsæ pecudis sanguinem gustasse nostros Minucius affimat, sicuti et <sup>7</sup>Tertullianus. Sic enim quam Apostoli repetitam Nohæ legem rursus tulerant, multis seculis nostri diligenter observarunt, non minus quam <sup>8</sup>Apostolicum in eadem Synodo decretum περὶ τροπειῶν. Certe quam honestum, religiosum, pudicum, castumque fuerit Christianorum solenne convivium, quod ἀγάπην appellabant, Cæcilius, si verum ingenue dicere, quam improbe mentiri maluisset, intelligere potuerat non solum ex Tertulliani nostri apologia, sed et sui Plinii quandam ad Trajanum epistola. Sed petulantiam projectæ maledi-

<sup>2</sup> *Heres.*  
xlviii. cap. 14.  
p. 416.

<sup>4</sup> [cap. xxx.]

<sup>5</sup> [Lib. iii. § 15.]  
<sup>6</sup> [Legat. pro  
Christian.  
p. 38.]  
<sup>7</sup> [cap. xx.]

<sup>8</sup> [Apolog.  
cap. ix.]

<sup>9</sup> [Act. Ap.  
c. xv. 27.]

centice quid refraenare posset? *Dixi de eo convivio plura in adnotationibus ad illam epistolam, que jam repetere nihil attinet. Utut autem nocturni Christianorum cœtus innoxii essent, tamen obstabat lex duodecim Tabb. multis decretis confirmata, et gravia erant judicia de collegiis illicitis. Nostri vero respondebant, nihil Reipub. esse periculi a suis coitionibus, quia essent alienissimi ab omni vel ambitione vel ullius dignitatis cogitatione, nihilque esset in repub. quod affectarent, sed sua essent privata conditio contenti, ut*<sup>9</sup> *Tertullianus in Apologetico respondet.*

<sup>9</sup> [cap. 1.]

XXIII. Ceterum ut jam praeteream reliqua capita vel accusationis Cœcilianæ, vel Octavianæ defensionis, illud observare juvat: quum calumniator ingeniosus et acer nihil non vel confignat vel exaggeret, et majestatis quædam leviora crimina adjungat: præterisse crimen perduellionis, quod et alii antea objecerant, et ad reos statim opprimendos imprimis idoneum esse videbatur. An id dissimularit, quia ne tenuis quidem ejus esset suspicio? Fuit certe perpetua hæc majorum nostrorum gloria, quod nullis injuriis tam irritari potuerint, ut in principes aut tyrannos, etsi ab iis indignissime vexarentur, hostili animo essent, aut ullis adversus eos conjuratis conspirationibus (que tamen alioqui et speciosæ et frequentes tunc erant) assentirentur: aut, quid sua patientia, tolerantia, modestia, continentia dignum esset, non meminissent. Tantum abest ut essent aut turbulenti aut seditioni, aut immanni cupiditate ultiōnis abriperentur. Nam etsi ea multitudine septi essent, ut facile possent confidere, quod in hoc genere instituissent; tamen fas non esse putabant. Et vero suæ alioqui religionis et principia sustulissent, et fundamenta evertissent. Imo vero humanae societatis vincula omnia dissolvissent. Quid multi etiam philosophi ambitiose prædicarent de tyrannicidis, notum erat. Sed nostri talibus flabellis incendi se non patiebantur; tantum abest ut religionis nomine ad publicum parricidium incitarentur? Nihil est prætermissum quod eos inflammare posset, et furor fieri dicitur laesa saepius patientia. Sed eos religio continuuit, et ad invictam modo patientiam armavit. Id vero, de quo etiam quæri hoc tempore audio et miror, perpetua plurium seculorum historia nos alias confirmabimus. Illud modo breviter attingam, quod Minucius dicere potuit, ac paulo ante ejus atatem accidit. Tertullianus<sup>1</sup> ad Scapulam, Circa majesta-

<sup>1</sup> [cap. 2.]

tem, *inquit*, Imperatoris infamamur: tamen nunquam Albiniani nec Nigriani nec Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani. *Juvat et alterum ejusdem Tertulliani locum, cuius memoriam veterem hisce temporibus renovari plurimum interest, ascribere.* Unde, *inquit in*<sup>2</sup> *Apologetico*, et Cassii et Nigri et Albini? unde qui inter duas lauros obsident Cæsarem? Unde qui faucibus ejus exprimendis palæstricam exercent? Unde qui armati palatum irrum-punt, omnibus Stephanis atque Partheniis audaciores? De Romanis (ni fallor) id est, non de Christianis. *Ne hunc quidem locum ex historia illustrare gravabor. Avdius Cassius, Syriae Legatus, adversus M. Antoninum Imp. surrexerat, cum praetexeret se Rempub. restituere atque conservare velle, quam Marci dissoluta indulgentia pessundaret.* Christiani tamen, qui in Marci exercitu adversus Marcomannos tam frequentes fuerunt, Cassiane factionis nulli fuerunt. *Commodum impurum tyrannum et nostris infestissimum domi strangulare Romani curarunt, qui illi maxime erant familiares.* An his Christianus ullus adfuit? Septimio Severo, qui ad Imperium gladiatorio animo viam affectabat, sese opposuit Pescennius Niger in Syria, et deinde Clodius Albinus in Britannia Galliaque, cum uterque tam bono jure armatus, quam Severus, sibi esse vide-retur. Nam et ipse<sup>3</sup> Tertullianus in libro de Pallio, hosce non minus quam Severum, AUGUSTOS aliquando agnoverit atque appellavit. Christiani tamen in eorum vel exercitu vel factione nulli inventi sunt. Plautianus, qui Principi proximus erat, et post eum maximæ auctoritatis, ut Severus et Caracalla, a quibus siebant multa crudeliter, jugularentur, immittit in curiam suum Praefectum, et eodem paulo post irrumpit. An Plautianum Christiani seuti sunt, quorum interesse videbatur tyrannos illos tolli? Immo vero potius Severum jam decumbentem illi suo etiam oleo curarunt, sanaruntque, ut testis est<sup>4</sup> Tertullianus ad Scapulam, ubi et solennes Ecclesiae preces pro Principibus commemorat. *Tum addit<sup>5</sup>:* Ex disciplina patientiae divinæ agere nos satis manifestum est, cum tanta hominum multitudo, pars pene major civitatis cujusque, in silentio et modestia agimus. . . . Absit enim, ut indigne feramus ea nos pati quæ optamus: aut ultionem a nobis aliquam machinemur, quam a Deo expectamus. *Non dissimilia sunt, quæ repetit in Apologetico et digna sunt, quæ his quoque*

<sup>2</sup> [cap. ii.]<sup>4</sup> [cap. ii.]<sup>5</sup> [cap. ii.]

*temporibus inculcentur. Certe<sup>6</sup> ait Christianos facile paucis faculis vel una nocte potuisse ulcisci, si aut fuissent aut esse voluissent (quod tamen jam a temporibus Neronis dicebantur) incendiarii. Sed absit, inquit, ut aut igni humano vindicetur divina secta, aut doleat pati, in quo probatur. Ait illis, si aperte agere et vim vi repellere voluissent, minime defuisse vim numerorum et copiarum. Sed, inquit, apud istam disciplinam magis occidi licet, quam occidere. Ait illos etiam sine armis potuisse vincere secedendo, et vacuum Romanis suum orbem reliquendo, si alio migrare voluissent. Tum enim defuisse quibus imperasset Rom. Imperator. Adeo pauci supererant, qui non essent Christiani. Sed nostros et cives manere voluisse, et ad hostes Romanorum transire noluisse significat, et interea tamen a Romanis appellatos esse non hostes modo, sed et principum et humani generis hostes. Ceterum tam injusta et aperta fuit haec injuria, ut ipsos tandem hostes Christianorum puduerit tam et ingrate agere, et loqui impudenter.*

XXIV. Ergo Cæcilius, quantumvis esset impudens, erubuit iis aliquod perduellionis crimen affingere. Quidvis aliud objicere, carpere, mentiri, calumniari maluit. Sed neque Christianis ascribit causam publicarum calamitatum: quod tamen eo tempore alii adversarii odiose facere imprimis solebant. Tristissima sane, aetate Minucii, erat facies Romani imperii, horribilisque dilaceratio atque confusio. Quid dicam genus omne malorum tunc inundasse? orbemque et concussum et permixtum bellis, incendiis, inundationibus, terræ motu, civitatum ruinis, gentium regnorumque excidiis; denique confectum et fame et peste publica? Non committit tamen Cæcilius, ut (quod vulgus tunc clamitabat, et ante postque multis seculis jactatum est) calumnaretur, Christianis totum illud chaos acceptum ferri debere, eorumque sanguine esse expiandum. Ante Minucii aetatem Tertullianus<sup>1</sup>: Si, inquit, Tiberis adscendit ad <sup>1</sup>Apolog. cap. xl. mœnia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si cœlum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim, CHRISTIANOS AD LEONEM, acclamatur. Non minus odiosa et immanis erat acclamatio tempore Cypriani, ut ex hujus ad Demetrianum epistola satis appareat. Eadem et tempore Arnobii. Nam et hic in suis adversus gentes libris laborat, ut hac

publici odii et invidice flamma nostros liberet. Quid ipse postea Symmachus? Nonne audet talem rursus cantilenam canere? Certe dignus erat, qui audiret quod aliquando Romæ post mortem Commodi Imp. acclamatum est<sup>2</sup>: DELATORES AD LEONEM! Sed nostri ab sanguine et ultiōis cupiditate erant alieni. Ambrosius non passus

<sup>2</sup> [Lampridius  
Vita Com-  
modi, cap.  
xviii.]

est eum in crimine tam falso diutius exultare. Sed cum non multo post urbs ipsa capta atque direpta fuisset, non erubuerunt impii calumniatores talem postremo cladem religioni Christianæ ascribere: coactusque est rursus Augustinus tam tetræ maledicentiae occurrere. Nam et properea se suos de civitate Dei libros scripsisse fatetur. Agit ergo minus malitiose Cœcilius, qui aliorum exemplo talem facem in nostros non contorquet, neque eorum innocentiam tam indigne onerat. Imo vero iis, ut miseris, ut victis, ut servis, ipse tanquam magnis victoriis elatus, et summa felicitate cumulatus, superbe insultat: et hoc nomine tam illorum religionem fastidiose deprimit, quam suam gloriose attollit superstitionem. Sic enim profani homines ex fortuna et rerum successu pendent. Sic ipse Cicero

<sup>3</sup> [cap. xxviii.] pro<sup>3</sup> Flacco contumeliose exagitat Judæorum et gentem et sacra. Sed et Apionem Judæis servitutem, et ærumnas, tanquam falsæ religionis testimonia, confidenter objecisse, ex Josepho intelligimus. Mirum vero, post tempora quoque Constantini, Julianum Imp. nostros eadem ratione impetiisse, sicuti ex Cyrilli responsionibus cognoscimus. Quanto id magis potuit Cœcilius, qui Christianos, nisi afflictos, miseros, pauperes, nullos viderat? Itaque magno supercilio et fastu et contemptu eos despuit, et tanquam

\* [I. Epist. ad Cor. iv. 18.] καθάρητα καὶ περιψήματα (utor<sup>4</sup> Apostoli verbis) proculcat. Sed Thrasonicos ejus spiritus altiori animo despicit Octavius, iisque sanctam quandam superbiam opponit, qua et in paupertate divites, et in servitute liberi, et in media denique morte victores essent nostri. Utut autem Cœcilius initio despumans, et intemperanter convicia profunderet, et minas efflaret, et ampullas horribiles projiceret, denique Christo insultaret: tamen veris virtutis paulo post cedit, neque arbitrii, judicisque Minucii sententiam expectat, sed ultro illi occurrit. Admirabilis projecto conversio, præsertim tam repentina. Sed ea ostendit, sanabiles multos Romæ fuisse, qui videbantur alioqui depositi et deplorati:

teritati vero errorem facile cedere. Ergo Cæcilius quadam veluti in jure cessione Octavio vindicanti addici poterat. Certe vinci dedique non recusat, et Octavianæ orationis quodam quasi fulmine percussus, tanquam alter quidam Paulus, subito religionem, quam ignorans oppugnaverat, admonitus complectitur.

XXV. Velle autem Minucius nobis quoque exposuisset totam hujusce metavolas historiam: ut et, qua lege, qua conditione, quibus sponsoribus, quo ritu, qua ceremonia, Cæcilius Romam reversus, in Ecclesiae collegium et communionem cooptatus fuerit, intelligeremus. Nam et antiqui illius moris memoria expetenda est. Sed quod Hieronymus ad Chronica Eusebii, et Augustinus libro octavo<sup>1.1 cap. 2</sup> Confessionum narrant de duobus aitis ejusdem et conditionis et ordinis, et gentis, et ingenii viris, Arnobio et Victorino; cogitemus factum quoque esse de Cæcilio. Immo vero hic Cæcilius fatetur, sese, posteaquam intellectus, quid non sit vera religio, desiderare intelligentiam, cognitionem, institutionem religionis veræ: eam vero catechesin in diem sequentem fuisse rejectam Minucius scribit. Sed tanto magis doleo, alteram hanc scholam, quæ Minuciani libri optima et maxima pars fuisset, non editam esse: saltem non extare. Nam neque satis est, falsum refellere: verum etiam docere oportet: ut et quid non sit, et quid sit Deus aut religio, exponatur. Sed bene habet: quod hic desideramus sarcire potest Augustini liber de Catechizandis rudi-bus, qui et leges et formulam veteris catecheseos eleganter describit: et quomodo sit agendum cum doctis et literatis, etiam monet: neque dissimilem Minucii aetate credo catechesin fuisse: et his quoque temporibus non observari miror. Juvat autem, ut Cæciliū audivimus accusatorem et adversarium, nunc rebus conversis spectare catechumenum. Catechumeni tunc etiam appellabantur auditores, vel audientes, sicuti ex multis Tertulliani<sup>2</sup> locis appareat: <sup>2 [de Panit. c. vi.]</sup> erantque imprimis dociles, minimeque refractarii: quod et ipse Lucianus in Philopatr. indicat. Contentiosæ itaque disputationes nullæ cum iis erant: sed placidis monitionibus religio docebatur. Post catechesin, qui jam sua nomina Ecclesiae dederant, ut baptismo initiantur, appellati sunt competentes: eorumque rursus in ordine Cæciliū jam nostrum conspicere juvat. Post baptismum candidatus

[p. 159 ed.  
Lips.]

*denique particeps fiebat τῶν μυστηρίων, a quibus antea procul abesse jubebatur. Neque sane de iis, aut promiscue disputare, aut coram profanis hominibus disserere, maiores nostri solebant. Testis est Theodoretus in Eranist. Dialogo ii. Nam illa religiosius atque adeo timidius tractanda esse sentiebant: et, quorsum alioqui res evaderet, longe prospiciebant. Itaque licet, cum accusarentur eorum σύναξις, magna causa esse videretur, cur exponere deberent quicquid in iis ageretur, tamen de mysteriis nihil dicunt in foro, neque de iis cum adversariis aut contendunt aut litigant.*

XXVI. Atque haec quidem hactenus breviter præmonere visum fuit, ut ad Octavii Minuciani lectionem viam veluti præmunirem, quæ et Christianarum antiquitatum memoriam nobis commendat, et ad eam renovandam nos excitet, qui et alioqui Romanas tanto studio persequimur. Atque utinam qui Romæ sunt docti homines, et nullum non etiam lapidem revolvunt, nullamque non in ipsis lapidibus literam observant, ut antiquæ Reipub. aliquid eruant, veteris quoque Ecclesiae monumenta (quibus eadem urbs abundat) colligerent, pluresque, qui in ea et vixerunt, et sepulti sunt, Minucios excitarent! Satis jam, satis est novorum de religione libellorum. Veteribus potius in lucem revocandis hujus generis reliquias operam demus: et simus aliquando docte antiquitatis potius quam incavis novitatis studiosi: majorumque nostrorum imagines et intueamur, et aliis, ne novi homines esse forte videamur, ostentemus. Neque tamen, etsi eadem eorum religio, animusque idem fuerit, eadem quoque semper facies fuit, idemque status. Non enim semper vexati abjectique jacuerunt, neque tam aut ingrati aut inepti fuerunt, ut optimo jure optimaque conditione esse recusarint, cum hoc iis licuit per Principes Christianos: neque tam fatui, ut hoc beneficio non uterentur: neque tam iniqui, ut si quid in suis Imperatoribus desiderarent, paganorum (ut loquimur) Tyrannorum loco eos haberent: neque tam morosi, ut publicæ tranquillitati nihil quicquam condonarent. Loquor de iis, qui non fuerunt degeneres. Sed liberæ Ecclesiae splendorem non vidit Minucius. Servientis modo squallorem vidit. Nostrum vero est, utrumque statum et utriusque temporis conditionem recte considerare atque discernere: et hoc externæ

(ut ita loguar) formæ temporumque discriminem prudenter observare, ut et antiquitatis memoria, et majorum nostrorum exemplis recte utamur. Hic enim et prudentia magna et cautione maxima opus esse fateor: et, cum lex nova rogatur, fertur saepè illud VTI ROGAS, scipius istud ANTIQUO, nobis ut occurrat atque placeat, necesse est, resque postulat. *Insculptum Romæ in veteri marmore esse dicitur, CANDIDA . FULVO . NOBILIOR . AURO . FELIX . ANTIQUITAS.* Sed ejus prejudiciis infeliciter abuteremur, nisi liberum integrumque judicium in iis discernendis atque diligendis adhibeamus: ne vel confuse omnia misceamus, vel malitiose praetereamus, que imitari nos oportet; vel etiam que huic ætati non convenient, intemperanter urgeamus. Cum olim de testamentis ageretur, lex quedam civilis respondit, retinendum esse morem fidelissimæ vetustatis, Leg. XVIII. Cod. de Testam. Quumque de finibus et ordine gubernationis Ecclesiastice quereretur, audita in Niceno concilio est illa vox: TA APXAIA EΩH KPATEITΩ. Nulla tamen fuit superstitione, quæ intemperanter atque impotenter urgeret, quod Reipublicæ salus repudiaret. Et ut sapientes Jurisconsulti, ubi de Magistratum jure quaestio esset, graviter respondebant, non solum spectandum esse, quid Romæ factum sit, sed etiam quid fieri debeat, Lege XII. de offic. Praes.: sic etiam spectare debemus, non solum quid majores nostri fecerint, sed et quo tempore, et qua conditione, quave fini. Neque non meminisse quoque oportet, quod lex quedam monet, non tam exemplis quam legibus judicandum esse. Ergo facio perlubenter, ut et jurisprudentiam et historiam conjunctim aut colam, aut saltē colandam esse saepè profitear: et quidem utramque in utroque genere, humanarum dico et divinarum rerum, sive civilium et Ecclesiasticarum. Nam et earum intelligentia atque memoria talem horum studiorum conjunctionem requirit: ut, si Tiberius Imperator recte judicavit militarem disciplinam (quod ait <sup>s</sup>Suetonius), ex antiquitate esse repetendam; nos multo magis sentiamus, rectiusque dicamus, civilem et Ecclesiasticam bona fide judicioque bono inde repeti debere. Interea vero, quia varie et periculose hic errari posse sentio, iterum iterumque obtestabor omnes bonos et cordatos, ut a factio-

<sup>s</sup> Suetonius *Tiber.* cap. xix: *Disciplinam acerrime exegit, animadversionum et ignominiarum generibus ex antiquitate repetitis.*

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*nibus aversi, et a studio partium alieni, primum vetustati  
tantum auctoritatis tribuant, quantum illi debetur: deinde  
placide cogitent atque observent, non solum quid veteres  
Christiani, tempore Minucii, facerent, cum aliud non pos-  
sent: sed et quid optarent, et, ubi possent, faciendum esse  
statuerent: et vero quid tandem, cum liberi fuerunt, fece-  
rint, ut et Rempublicam et Ecclesiam recte constituerent.*

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*ANALYSIS LOGICA DIALOGI.*

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## *ANALYSIS LOGICA DIALOGI.*

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ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ,

CONSTAT

1º ANTECEDENTE, ubi excurrit in laudes Octavii Christiani, a quo Cæcilius, cultor Deorum, qui Minucium salutatum Romam venerat, inter ambulandum ad veram religionem fuit revocatus. C. i, ii, 1—5.

2º CONCOMITANTIBUS, ubi docet, quid in via acciderit, et quomodo Minucium Octavius admonuerit ne familiarem pateretur diutius errare. C. ii, 5: iii. *tot.*

3º CONSEQUENTE, quod exponit occasionem, natam ex objurgatione modo dicta, disputandi de religione. C. iv.

ΑΓΩΝ.

TRANSITIO, continet Cæcilii admonitionem ad M. Minucium præsidem de officii partibus rite tuendis. C. v, 1.

**THESES.****I.**

**FIERI NON POTEST UT CHRISTIANI CERTI ALIQUID AFFERANT IN INTRODUCENDA RELIGIONE NOVA:**

- i. *Non in articulo de Deo,*  
*quod probatur,*
  - a) *a conditione veritatis, quae est incerta, v. 2, 3.*
  - b) *a conditione subjecti ad investigandam eam veritatem minus apti, v. 4; deest enim*  
*1º medium causativum; doctrina et eruditio.*
  - c) *ab inutili.*  
*Sufficit enim ad vitam beatam cognitio sui ipsius, v. 5.*
  - d) *a naturali statu hominis,*  
*qui humilis et in terram projectus est, Ib. 6.*
  
- ii. *Nec in articulo de creatione,*  
*quam perperam Deo attribuunt Christiani, quia omnia fortuito et casu quodam ita confusa sunt, ut nunc cernuntur, v. 7—9.*
  
- iii. *Negat in articulo de Providentia,*
  - a) *quia, quae semel copta sunt, legi necessitatis continuantur; adeoque omnia commodius derivari ex mechanica corporum structura possunt, v. 10.*
  
  - b) *Ob defectum ordinis, qui est*  
*1º in rebus naturalibus, v. 11, 14.*  
*2º in rebus moralibus, v. 12, 13.*

**ANTITHESIS.**

I.

VIA PERVENIENDI AD CERTITUDINEM EST IN PROCLIVI,  
QUIA

i. *Incertitudo illa non est in veritate, sed in judiciis hominum veritatem indagantium, et oritur ex obscuritate non objectivea, sed subjectivea,* XVI. 1—6;

b) *externa hominum conditio nihil officit veritati,* XVI. 6—9.

1º *quasdam veritates etiam absque eruditiose compare nobis possumus.* § 6, 9.

2º *divitiae magis avocant a sapientia, quam paupertas.*  
§ 7, 8.

c) *Concedo cognitionem sui ipsius esse salutarem, sed ea sine universitatis exploratione minus procedit,* XVII. 1, 2.

d) *Naturalis hominis status, qui erectus est, jubet potius cœlum aspicere.* § 3.

ii. *Deus est creator hujus Universi,*  
quod patet ex ordine rerum ad certum finem institutum,  
qui sane non potest casus esse fortuiti, XVII. 4—9.

iii. Datur providentia: quod probatur

a) *ex omnimoda perfectione,* XVII. 10 sqq. XVIII. 1, 2;  
quæ conspicitur

1º In Universo, e. g.

a) *in quatuor anni temporibus.*

β) *in aquis.*

γ) *in terra continente.*

δ) *in animantibus.*

ε) *in homine.*

ζ) *in nascendi ratione.*

2º In singulis Universi partibus, § 3.

a) *Britannia.*

β) *Egypto.*

γ) *Mesopotamia.*

δ) *Oriente.*

b) *ex analogia domus bene aedificatae,* XVIII. 4.

## II.

IN RELIGIONE A MAJORIBUS TRADITA EST PERMANENDUM;

- i. Quia certa,
  - a) *ob incertum veritatis*, quod ex premissis patet, vi. 1.
  - b) *ob antiquitatem*: habemus enim religiones per traditionem acceptas, § 1;
  - c) *ob fidem majoribus debitam*: quo quis enim deorum sæculo propior accedit, eo major illi fides est habenda, § 1, 2.

## DIGRESSIO PRIMA.

De unitate Dei,

quæ probatur:

- 1º *Inductione Socratica*, exemplis petitis:
  - a) *ab imperiis terrenis*, XVIII. 5, 6;
  - b) *ab animalibus sociabilibus*, Ib. 7;
- 2º *ab eternitate Dei*, Ib. ;
- 3º *ab ejus omnipotentia*, Ib. ;
- 4º *a ceteris perfectionibus*, quæ uni, non pluribus competunt, Ib. 8, 9.
- 5º *a defectu nominis*, Ib. 10;
- 6º *a testimonio tum vulgi*, § 11, 12; *tum poetarum*, XIX. 1, 2, 3; *tum etiam philosophorum*, Ib. 4—18.

## II.

STULTUM EST, IN RELIGIONE FALSAILLA QUIDEM, SED A MAJORIBUS TRADITA, VELLE PERMANERE;

i. Quod probatur,

- a) *negando omnia esse incerta*, providentia probata, XX. 1, 2.
- b) *distinguendo inter antiquitatem fabulosam, et veritatis amantem*. Haec, non illa, est sectanda, § 2.
- c) *a fide majorum dubia*, § 3, 4.

## DIGRESSIO SECUNDA.

Homines fuisse, quos pro diis coluerunt Gentes.

*Hoc probatur:*

- 1º *Ostendendo modum, quo factum illud sit, deorum origine altius ex historiis repetita*, XX. 5, 6;
- 2º *Ex testimoniosis philosophorum et historicorum*, XXI. 1—5. XXII. 8 seqq.
- 3º *Ex affectionibus humanis*, XXI. 5 tot.
- 4º *Ex testimoniosis poetarum*, XXII. 1—8.
- 5º *Ex ipsorum nativitate et morte*, XXIII. 1—7.

## DIGRESSIO TERTIA.

De Idolorum Origine et Vanitate.

- 1º *Origo*, XXIII. 7 seqq.

- 2º *Vanitas*, XXIV. seqq.

ii. Quia utilis. *Romani enim magnitudinem imperii sui dius debuerunt;*

a) Quod Romani fuerint religiosi, hoc patet ex venerandis  
1<sup>o</sup> *dius vernaculis*, vi. 4.  
2<sup>o</sup> *dius peregrinis*, Ib. 2, 5.  
3<sup>o</sup> *instituendis castis virginibus et nominibus sacerdotum*,  
Ib. 3.

b) Quod haec religio imperium conciliaverit illis, patet:

1<sup>o</sup> *ex institutione*, quia sacra Romana optimo consilio  
sunt instituta, vii. 1—5.  
a) *ad remunerandam divinam indulgentiam*, Ib. 2, 3.  
β) *ab avertendam iram*, Ib. 4.  
2<sup>o</sup> *ex eventu*, quia auguria poenitenter omissa et obser-  
vata feliciter, Ib. 5, 6.  
3<sup>o</sup> *ex oraculis et vaticiniis*, non antiquissimorum modo  
temporum, sed recentiorum etiam, Ib. 7—9.

ii. *Falsissimum est Romanos imperium suum diis debuisse,*  
xxv. 1.

a) *Quia Romani non tam religiosi, quam impune sacrilegi.*

*Hoc probatur demonstratione indirecta, per rationem disjunctivam.*

*Si a diis Romani regna accepta possederunt, ea habuerunt,*

*1º vel a diis peregrinis,*

*2º vel a diis vernaculis,*

*3º vel ob cultum religiosiorem. Atqui,*

*Non a diis peregrinis, qui antiquos sui cultores  
potius tuiti essent, si quicquam valerent, c. xxv. 7, 10.*

*nec a diis vernaculis, qui morbi potius sunt et pro-  
pudia, quam dii, § 8, 9.*

*neque ob cultum castiorem, siquidem virginibus non  
castitas tutior, sed impudicitia felicior fuit, § 11, 12.*

*Ergo nullo modo diis imperium suum Romani debent, sed  
est audaciae preda, § 2—5.*

b) *Imperia possederunt gentes exteræ, etiam absque su-  
perstitione Romana, § 13.*

*2º auguria multoties fefellerunt, adeoque committitur  
fallacia non causeæ ut causeæ, xxvi. 1—3.*

*3º oracula scipiis mentita sunt, adeoque eventus non  
industriæ, sed casui attribuendus, Ib. 4, 5.*

#### DIGRESSIO QUARTA.

De existentia et molitionibus dæmonum :

*ubi describitur :*

*1º Existentia, xxvi. 7.*

a) *descriptione, 6, 7.*

b) *testimoniis, 7 seq.*

*2º molitiones, xxvii, tot.*

#### DIGRESSIO QUINTA.

De perversa in Christianos quæstione :

*quæ dæmoniis instigantibus perversa est, quia fit :*

*1º de incognitis et inexploratis, xxviii. 1—3.*

*2º quia non admittit defensionem, Ib. 4.*

*3º quia cogit non ad confitendum, sed negandum, Ib. 4.*

## III.

CHRISTIANA RELIGIO NON EST UTILE,

1º Ob mores Christianorum deterrimos. *Si enim esset utilis primam utique utilitatem exerceret in emendandis moribus, vii.*

*Jam vero sunt,*

- a) *de ultima plebe, vii. 3, 4.*
- b) *factiosi, Ib. 4.*
- c) *in publicum muti, Ib. 4.*
- d) *eorum multitudo in dies crescit instar lolii, ix. 1.*
- e) *occultis se signis noscunt, Ib. 2.*
- f) *incestum ob fratris appellationem commitunt, Ib. 2, 3.*

2º Ob sacra multo deteriora, nam

- a) *colunt caput asini, ix. 4.*
- b) *genitalia sacerdotis sui adorant, Ib. 4.*
- c) *ad hominem e cruce pendentem supplicant, Ib. 5.*
- d) *initiantur cœde infantis, Ib. 6, 7.*
- e) *convivia incesta celebrant, Ib. 8, 9.*
- f) *sacra sua occultant, x. 1, 2.*

3º Ob alia plura opinionum portenta;

A. In articulo de Deo ; *colunt enim*

- a) *deum solitarium, eundemque imbecillum; quod exemplo Judæorum patet, x. 3, 4.*
- b) *deum invisibilem, quod absurdum, Ib. 5.*
- c) *deum omniscium, quod impium, Ib. 5, 6.*

B. De fine mundi :

*Statuunt mundum interitum aliquando : quæ opinio repugnat legi naturæ semel constitutæ atque æternæ, x. 7.*

C. De resurrectione mortuorum,  
*quam impugnat argumentis,*

## III.

1º Qui de Christianorum sceleribus circumferuntur sermones, partim aperte sunt falsi et a malevolis qui busdam instigatione dæmonum disseminati; partim quidem veri, sed sinistra interpretatione, inspersisque mendaciis depravati.

- a) *negat hoc ex eo sequi quod honores et purpuras gentium recusarent*, xxxi. 7.
- b) *negat, docendo Christianos congregatos eadem quiete agere, qua et singuli*, Ib. 7.
- c) *concedit, sed hoc ideo fieri monet, quod gentes eos publice audire erubescerent*, Ib. 7.
- d) *concedit, sed hoc laudis, non criminis esse docet*, Ib. 8.
- e) *concedit, sed crimen removet, eo quod non notaculo corporis, sed innocentia signo se dignoscerent*, Ib. 9.
- f) *negat, et appellationis fraternæ innocentiam defendit*, Ib. 10.

2º Plurima quæ de sacris nostris spargitis, sunt falsa; non pauca depravata;

- a) *inficiatur et retorquet*, xxviii. 8—10.
- b) *negat, et convicium remittit*, xxviii. 11, 12; xxix. 1.
- c) *negat et retorquet*, Ib. 2—8.
- d) *negat et retorquet*, xxx. tot.
- e) *negat et retorquet*, xxxi. 1—7.
- f) *concedit, sed jure fieri monet*, xxx. 1—3.

3º Christianorum doctrina est sanissima: hinc

A. In articulo de Deo,

- a) *distinguendum esse monet inter Judæos veteres legique divinas obedientes, et recentiores immorigeros*, xxxii. 3—6.
- b) *invisibilitatem Dei jure adstrui docet* xxxii. 4—6.
- c) *omniscientiam Dei firmissimis niti argumentis adserit*, xxxii. 7—9; xxxiii. 1, 2.

B. Doctrina de fine mundi nec legi naturæ nec philosophorum sententiis repugnat, xxxiv. 1—5.

C. Ad objecta de mortuorum resurrectione respondetur.

1º καὶ ἄνθρωπον, quia ad resurrectionem stabiendum, multa alia absurdā simul sunt assumenda; e. g.

a) *ignium sepulturam esse rejiciendam*, ne scilicet corpus resuscitandum periret, XI. 3.

b) *pœnas et remunerations post mortem statuere*, quia error errorem facile pariat, Ib. 4, 5.

c) *ipso Christianos pœnis esse dignos, cum sint mali*, Ib. 5.

d) *deum esse injustum, qui sortem in hominibus puniat, cum omnia subjecta sint fato*, Ib. 5, 6.

2º καὶ ἀλήθεια, ostendendo impossibilitatem.

a) *dilemmata*, Ib. 7.

b) *defectu exempli*, Ib. 8, 9.

3º Ob mala plurima, quibus cultores suos exponit:

*Cultus enim dei unius non dicit ad felicitatem,*

a) *quia ejus cultores sunt pauperes*, XII. 1, 2.

b) *quia infirmi ac calamitosi*, Ib. 3.

c) *tormentis aliorum expositi*, Ib. 4.

d) *a deo relictī*, Ib. 4.

e) *alii sine deo felices sunt*, Ib. 5.

f) *honestis voluptatibus avocat*, 5, ut sunt,

1º *pompæ et spectacula*;

2º *procerpti cibi et potus delibati*, 5.

g) *rerum licitarum usum, qualis florū est, damnat*, 6.

h) *defunctos adeo debito honore defraudat, dum coronari eos prohibet*, 6.

i) *nec damnum viæ presentis futuræ felicitate pensat*, 6.

#### IV.

##### SUMMA TOTIUS DISPUTATIONIS.

1º A rerum divinarum exploratione abstinendum,

a) *quia veritas est supra nos*, XII. 7.

a) *Ignium sepultura non facilitanda resurrectionis causa rejicitur, sed ut mos veterum humandi corpora frequenter tur, XXXIV. 11—13.*

b) *pœnas post mortem etiam gentes statuunt, sed easdem per horrescant, XXXIV. 14; XXXV. 1—5.*

c) *Christiani ethnicis tamen multo sunt meliores, Ib. 5—7.*

d) *concedit fatum esse, sed liberum, ob omniscientiam Dei, qua futura præsciat, XXXVI. 1—3.*

2º Possibilitas resurrectionis adstruitur

a) *tum sententiis philosophorum, tum argumentis ex ratione petitis, XXXIV. 5—10.*

b) *æque absurdum est exemplum hominis, qui ex mortuis resurrexerit, videre velle, quam esset postulare ut sol sub noctem oriatur, et arbores in hieme vernent. Exempla resurgentium apparebunt utique, sed suo tempore, Ib. 12, 13.*

3º Inter Christianos et ethnicos de eo quod bonum malumve est, non convenit.

a) *paupertas hæc non infamie, sed gloria est; non coacta, sed voluntaria, XXXVI. 4—8.*

b) *fortitudo infirmitatibus roboratur, virtus calamitatibus, § 8.*

c) *gloriamur suppliciis affecti, freti auxilio Dei, XXXVII. 1—6.*

d) *non derelinquimur a Deo, sed tentamur, § 9.*

e) *felicitas sine Deo non potest esse solida, § 6—11.*

f) *voluptates quibus abstinemus, non sunt honestæ, sed prævæ et illicitæ, 11; quod probatur*

*1º de pompis et spectaculis, § 12, 13;*

*2º sacrificiorum reliquiis, quæ daemonius libantur, XXXVIII. 1, 2.*

g) *florum non usus, sed abusus damnatur, § 3, 4.*

h) *abhorret a ratione mos coronandi mortuos, § 5.*

i) *Christiani non tranquille solum vivunt, sed beati etiam sunt spe future felicitatis, § 6.*

IV.

1º A rerum divinarum investigatione nemo absterreri debet,  
quia

a) *veritas non est supra, sed penes nos, Ib. 8.*

b) *ob inertiam et ruditatem eorum qui huic studio in-  
cumbunt, XIII. 7.*  
 c) *ab exemplo Socratis, XIII. 1, 2, Arcesilæ, Carneadis,  
Academicorum, § 3, et Simonidis Melici, 4, 5.*  
 2º *Dubia ergo quæ sunt, merito relinquenda, Ib. 6.*

## V.

*EPILOGUS*

continet

1º *Provocationem Cæcilii ad Octavium, qua invitatur ad  
respondendum, XIV. 1.*  
 2º *Orationem Minucii ad Cæciliū, qua ipsum non prius  
exultandum esse monet, quam utrimque fuerit perora-  
tum, Ib. 2—8.*  
 3º *Responsionem Cæcilii, qua Minucium taxat, quod se  
oratione gravissima interpellaverit, XV. § 1.*

b) *nos non habitu sapientiam, sed mente præferimus,*  
xxxviii. 8.  
c) *philosophorum exempla nihil nos movent, § 7.*

2º Non dubia amplius sunt quoꝝ dubia quondam fuerunt,  
cum veritas divinitatis jam maturuit.

## V.

### *EPILOGUS*

ostendit,

1º quos stimulus oratio Octavii in animis audientium  
reliquerit, xxxix, tot. ;  
2º confessionem Cæciliæ, qua victum se esse fatetur, xl.  
1, 2.

3º dilationem quæstionis de rebus ad quas institutio  
perfectior requirebatur, Ib. 3.

4º gratulationem Minucii conjunctam cum gratiarum  
actione ad Octavium xli. 1, 2.  
5º lætum omnium discessum, Ib. 3.

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MARCI MINUCII FELICIS  
*OCTAVIUS.*

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## MARCI MINUCII FELICIS

### OCTAVIUS.

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**C**OGITANTI mihi, et cum animo meo Octavi boni et fidelissimi contubernalis memoriam recensenti, tanta dulcedo et affectio hominis inhaesit, ut ipse quodammodo mihi viderer in præterita redire<sup>1</sup>, non ea quæ jam transacta et decursa sunt recordatione revocare. Ita ejus contemplatio, quantum subtracta est oculis, tantum pectori meo sac pene intimis sensibus implicata est. Nec immerito discedens<sup>2</sup> vir eximius et sanctus<sup>3</sup> immensum sui desiderium nobis reliquit: utpote quum et

Ch. I. The opening sentence reminds us of Cicero's manner in commencing his philosophical treatises: compare with this the commencement of the first Book of *Oratores*: Cogitanti mihi s̄pēnumero et memorīa vetera repetenti etc. Our author indeed throughout the dialogue imitates Cicero's style and language so closely, that he is entitled to the name of the Christian Cicero, as much as Lactantius. See Gronovius' *Introductory Remarks*.

<sup>1</sup> *ipse ... in præterita redire*, 'I fancied myself in a manner really carried back into bye-gone times, rather than musing upon things past and over.'

<sup>2</sup> *nec immerito discedens*: *Nec immerito* means "and no wonder that," in which sense it is used by our author several times; see chh. v., xxx., xxxi., xxxv. It is not necessary

to take *discedens* in the questionable sense of "departing out of this world," for which *decedens* would have been the usual expression, but it is better to refer it to the separation of Octavius from his friend at Rome. Nor again does it appear from the dialogue, as some suppose, that it was composed by Minucius after the death of Octavius: the manner in which he expresses his feeling seems to imply the "absence," rather than the death of a friend.

<sup>3</sup> *vir eximius et sanctus*, "a Christian in life as well as profession." The word *sanctus* in the primitive writers, like *ἅγιος* in many places of the New Testament, as 1 Cor. i. 12; vi.1, is but another word for "Christian," in opposition not to unsound Christians but to heathens. See Bingham, *Antiq. of the Christian Church*, Ch. I. § 1.

CAP. I.

INTRODUC-  
TION, CHH.  
I.—IV.

On reviewing the whole period of my delightful and close intimacy with Ota-  
vius, my thoughts dwelt parti-  
cularly on a dialogue  
which he once held with Cecilius, which  
was the means of con-  
verting his friend from  
heathenism  
to Christi-  
anity.

CAP. I. ipse tanto nostri semper amore flagraverit, ut et in ludicris et seriis pari mecum voluntate <sup>4</sup>concineret, eadem vellet vel nolle. Crederes unam mentem in duobus fuisse divisam: <sup>5</sup>sic solus in amoribus conscientius ipse, socius in erroribus: et quum, dis-<sup>4</sup>cussa caligine, de tenebrarum profundo in <sup>6</sup>lucem sapientiae et veritatis emergerem, non respuit comitem, sed, quod est gloriosius, præcucurrit. Itaque quum per universam convictus nostri et fa-<sup>5</sup>miliaritatis ætatem mea cogitatio volveretur, in illo præcipue sermone ejus mentis meæ resedit intentio, quo Cæcilium superstitionis vanitatibus etiam nunc<sup>7</sup> inhærentem disputatione gravissima ad veram religionem reformavit.

<sup>4</sup> concineret, eadem vellet vel nol-  
let, "that he chimed in with me,  
he liked and disliked as I did;"  
others read *eadem velle vel nolle*, in  
which case the rendering will be,  
"that he sang in one key (Cf. Shake-  
spere, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*,  
Act II. Sc. iii., and Act III. Sc. ii.) with  
me so as to have the same likings and  
dislikings," according to the explana-  
tion given by Rigaltius: "Ait Minu-  
cius Octavium suum pari secum vo-  
luntate concinere solitum; *Volo vel*  
*Nolo.*" Compare Salust. *Catil.* c. 20:  
Idem velle atque idem nolle,  
ea demum firma amicitia est.  
"You would imagine," continues Mi-  
nucius, "that there was but one soul  
between us both." Such expressions,  
serving to mark the closest union in  
friendship, are not unfrequent in  
ancient authors: compare Aristotle's  
definition of a friend ap. *Dio-  
gen. Laert.* Lib. v. segm. 20; *μία*  
*ψυχή δύο σώμασιν ἐνοικοῦσα*:  
Ovid. *Tr.* iv. iv. 72, where speaking

of Pylades and Orestes, he says:  
Qui duo corporibus, mentibus unus erant.

<sup>5</sup> Sic solus in amoribus conscientius ipse, socius in erroribus. There is some difficulty in determining the sense of the former words. Lindner places the words *conscientius ipse* between commas; and interprets thus: *Sic is, qui mihi solus erat in amoribus, cuius rei testis est ipse locupletissimus, socius etiam fuit in erroribus:* (Compare Cicero *ad Div.* vii. 32. *est mihi, ut scis, in amoribus*): in his 2d edition, however, he re-  
marks "sed quoniam sic durior est oratio, per me licet vel *conscientius ipse* plane deales, vel *conscientius ipsi legas*," referring to a passage in Cicero, *ad Attic.* i. 18, *qui mihi et in publica re socius et esse soles in privatis omnibus conscientius*. Either of these interpretations seems better than that of Gronovius, and M. l' Abbé Fleury, viz.: "a confidant in my love-intrigues." The construction

Nam negotii, et visendi mei gratia Romam contenterat<sup>1</sup>, relicta domo, conjuge, liberis, et, quod est in liberis amabilius, adhuc annis innocentibus, et adhuc dimidiata verba tentantibus, loquelam, ipso offensantis linguae fragmine, dulcior rem. Quo in adventu ejus non possum exprimere sermonibus, quanto quamque impatienti gaudio exultaverim: quum augeret maxime lætitiam meam amicissimi hominis inopinata præsentia. Igitur post unum et alterum diem, quum jam et aviditatem desiderii frequens <sup>2</sup>assiduitatis usus implesset; et quæ per absentiam mutuam de nobis nesciebamus, relatione alterna comperissemus; placuit Ostiam petere<sup>3</sup> amoenissimam civitatem, quod esset corpori

of the passage I take to be *sic solus in amoribus conscientius* (mihi erat) *ipse*; whether its meaning be “in such a manner was he my only darling friend and confidant;” or “in such a manner was he in his affections of one mind with myself.” Observe the paronomasia in *conscientius*, *socius* and *amoribus*, *erroribus*.

<sup>4</sup> *lucem sapientiae et veritatis*, hoc est, lucem veræ sapientiae, nempe Christianæ; “the light of Christianity” in opposition to the darkness of heathendom. Similarly Tertullian speaks of Christian women as *feminas sapientiam consecutas*: of Socrates, that he *sapere ad veritatem*: so φιλοσοφία was applied to the Christian religion by the apologists, as being the only true philosophy: (see Tatian, *Or. ad Gr.* § 31, Justin M. *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 8: cfr. Suicer. *Thes. Eccles.* s. v.)

<sup>7</sup> *etiam nunc*, i. q. jam tum, “still,” “at the time of the conference.”

CAP. II.  
The dialogue took place on occasion of Octavius' visit to me at Rome, when we went on an excursion to the Baths of *Ostia*, for the benefit of my health, in the vintage vacation. An act of homage paid by Cecilius to a statue of *Serapis* on our way to the beach, provoked an indignant remark from Octavius against myself, for not interfering to prevent such superstitious ignorance in my friend. II.—III. § 1.

Ch. II. <sup>1</sup> *contenderat*, sc. Octavius. *Innocentibus* may be taken as the epithet either of *annis* or of *liberis*, *annis* being equivalent to *per* or *propter annos*. Translate: “even while they were in the season of innocence, just attempting to utter half words, a language peculiarly sweet from its very lisp and imperfection.” The expression *linguae fragmine* may be compared with that of Lucretius, v. 230;

*Nutricis blanda atque infreta loquela.*

<sup>2</sup> *assiduitatis usus*, ‘the enjoyment of his continued presence.’ The word *assiduitas* occurs in the same sense in Cicero *pro Deiotaro* c. ult., and A. Gellius, *N. A.* XIII. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *placuit Ostiam petere*. Ostia seems to have been a favourite holiday retreat with the Romans. Hence Juvenal, *Sat.* xi. 49;

*Baies et ad Ostia currunt.*

See Baldwin. *Dissert.* § iv. p. 7. It ac-

**CAP. II.** *meo<sup>4</sup> siccandis humoribus de marinis lavacris blanda et apposita curatio; sane et<sup>5</sup> ad vindemiam feriae<sup>4</sup> judiciariam curam relaxaverant: nam id temporis, post aestivam diem, in temperiem semet autumnitas dirigebat. Itaque quum diluculo ad mare<sup>6</sup> inambulando litore pergeremus, ut et aura adspirans leniter membra vegetaret, et cum eximia voluptate molli vestigio<sup>7</sup> cedens arena subsideret, Cæcilius, simulacro Serapidis denotato, ut vulgus superstiosus solet,<sup>8</sup> manum ori admovens osculum labii impressit.*

quires additional interest from the circumstance of Augustin having held there his famous discourse with his mother Monica on the subject of Religion; see the account given by him in his *Confessiones* Lib. ix. ch. 10. foll.

*<sup>4</sup> siccandis humoribus ... curatio.* *Blanda* erat curatio ob autumnitatis temperiem; *apposita* ob ferias vendimiales. LINDNER. *Siccandis humoribus* is equivalent to *ad siccandum humores*. On the peculiar use of *de* in *de marinis lavacris*, consult the Index, *s. v.*

*<sup>5</sup> ad vindemiam feriae.* This expression may stand for "feriae vendimiales," (see the Index *s.v. ad*) or we may construe the passage, *feriae curam relaxaverant ad vindemiam*, sc. fruendam. The "vintage vacation," lasted from Aug. 22, to Oct. 15: Baldwin. *Dissert.* § iv. p. 6.

*<sup>6</sup> inambulando litore]* ambulando in litore, i. e. the bank of the river Tiber.

*<sup>7</sup> molli vestigio.* Dicere voluit arenam, etiam leviter ab euntibus impressam, cessasse. HEUMANN. In the next clause *denotato* is equivalent to "animadverso."

Concerning the worship of Serapis see the Index *s. v.* and Baldwin. *Dissert.* p. 9. § 7.

*<sup>8</sup> manum ori admovens.* It was a common and very old custom of expressing homage to the gods either to kiss their idol, or to kiss their hand to it; probably of Oriental descent. Compare Job, c. xxxi. v. 27, with 1 Kings, xix. 18; Hosea, xiii. 2. That it was a prevalent mode of performing homage to the gods among the Greeks and Romans, may be seen from the subjoined passages; Lucian *de Saltat.* § 17: ὅπου καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἐπειδὴν προσέχωνται τὸν Ἡλίον, οὐχ ἀσκερ νιμεῖς τὴν χεῖρα κύσαντες ἡγούμενα ἐπετελῇ τημῶν εἴναι τὴν εὐχήν: Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xxviii. cap. 2, in *adorando dextram ad osculum referimus*: Tacit. *Hist.* iv. 28: Apuleius, *Metam.* Lib. iv. c. 28, p. 284. ed. Hildebrand: Cicero in *Verr.* Act. ii. iv. 43, where the statue of Hercules is said to have, *mentum paulo attritus quod in precibus ... osculari solent*. See also a note of Salmasius in the *Script. Hist. August.* p. 440; Brisson. ii. *de Form.* p. 840.

Tunc Octavius ait: Non boni viri est, CAP. III.  
 Marce frater, hominem domi forisque lateri tuo  
 inhærentem, sic in <sup>1</sup>hac imperitis vulgaris cæcitate  
 deserere, ut tam luculento die <sup>2</sup>in lapides eum  
 patiaris impingere, effigiatos sane et unctos et co-  
 ronatos: quum scias hujus erroris non minorem ad  
<sup>2</sup> te quam ad ipsum infamiam redundare. <sup>3</sup>Cum hoc  
 sermone ejus <sup>4</sup>medium spatium civitatis emensi, jam  
 liberum litus tenebamus. Ibi arenas extimas, ve-  
 lut sterneret ambulacro, perfundens lenis unda

Ch. III. <sup>1</sup>[hac, i. q. hujus  
 temporis. JAC. GR.]

<sup>2</sup> in *lapides effigiatos sane et unctos*, “upon mere blocks of stones, for all that they are carved into figures and anointed.” The practice of anointing stones with oil was very common in different ages and countries. It was probably an Oriental rite. We find that Jacob, in compliance, as it is likely, with the received custom, “set up the stone on which he had slept for a pillar at Bethel, and poured oil upon the top of it;” Gen. xxviii. 18: xxxv. 14. From this stone, probably, was derived the word *Batrōlos* or *Batrūlia*, to signify other stones similarly consecrated in memory of Jacob’s stone: v. SELDEN, *de Diis Syris Syntagma*, xi. c. 15. The Jews were accustomed to pay superstitious respect to such stones, as we infer from Moses having forbidden their erection, Lev. xxvi. 1; and from the allusion in *Isaiah*, lvii. 6; and so were the Greeks, as we learn from Pausanias in his *Achaica*, Lib. vi. c. 3, *dvr̄l dγαλμάτων είχον dρυοὺς λίθους τιμάς θεῶν*, i. e. “unwrought stones, instead of images, had divine honours paid them.” Cf.

Upon reaching the open beach, we amused ourselves with strolling about, and listening to OCTAVIUS’ stories: in the course of our wanderings he and I were much diverted with the sight of a boys’ game:

Tenison of *Idolatry*, ch. iv. p. 48. In later times the practice gave rise to a proverb concerning a superstitious man, πάντα λίθους λιπαρὸν προσκυνεῖ, as Clemens Alexandr. informs us, *Strom. L. vii. p. 843. ed. Potter*; and Theophrastus marks as one strong feature in his portrait of the δεινοῖδαιμον, the practice τῶν λιπαρῶν λίθων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις παρέων ἐκ τῆς ληκύθου ἀλασον καταχεῖν, i. e. “of pouring oil out of his vial on the uncti lapides in the high ways, as he passes by them.” So Arnobius, *adv. Nat. lib. i. ch. 39. p. 22*, giving an account of his own life before his conversion, tells us that, “ai quando conspereram lubricatum lapidem et ex olivi unguine sordidatum tanquam inesset vis praesens, adulabar, affabar, et beneficia poscebam nihil sentiente de trunco.” The heathen custom of adorning their statues with garlands is too well known to need illustration.

<sup>3</sup> Cum hoc sermone ejus. For the use of *cum*, comp. below ch. iv. § 5; *cum dicto ejus assedimus*: and see Hand, *Tursellin. ii. p. 130*.

<sup>4</sup> medium spatium civitatis, “the distance between Ostia and the sea.”

CAP. III. <sup>5</sup>tendebat; et ut semper mare etiam positis flatibus inquietum est, etsi non canis spumosisque fluctibus exhibat ad terram, <sup>6</sup>tamen crispis torosisque. Ibidem <sup>3</sup>erroribus delectati perquam sumus, quum in ipso æquoris limine plantas tingeremus, quod vicissim nunc ad pulsum nostris pedibus <sup>7</sup>adluderet fluctus, nunc relabens ac vestigia retrahens in sese resorberet. Sensim itaque tranquilleque progressi, oram <sup>4</sup>curvi molliter litoris, iter fabulis fallentibus, <sup>8</sup>legebamus. Hæ fabulæ erant Octavii disserentis de na- <sup>5</sup>vigatione narratio. <sup>9</sup>Sed ubi eundi spatium satis justum cum sermone consumpsimus, eandem emensi

not so CÆSAR,  
who re-  
mained an  
uninterested  
spectator, and  
upon my en-  
quiry into  
cause of his  
uneasiness,  
confessed  
himself  
piqued at  
OCTAVIUS' re-  
mark, and  
concluded  
with a pro-  
posal to  
argue the  
subject phi-  
losophically  
with him. I  
was chosen  
to moderate  
between  
them.

III, 2—IV.

<sup>5</sup> *tendebat* is for *extendebat*: Translate: "was spreading the outermost sands, just as if it were leveling them for an artificial walk."

<sup>6</sup> *tamen crispis torosisque*, sc. *exibat ad terram*, "yet with curled and heaving waves." *Torus* properly means "full of *tori*;" and the proper meaning of *torus* is, any full and swelling protuberance like "the convexity of a muscle," Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 9; "of an overcharged vein," Celsus, vii. 18; "the twist or strand of a rope," v. Cato, §. 135; Columella, xi. 3; "the swelling protuberance in the circle of a festoon (*seratum*), or of a chaplet (*corona*)," Cic. *Orat.* c. vi: (v. A. Rich's *Illustr. Companion to the Dictionary*; Ernest. *Ind. Lat. s. v.*); or "a knoll" on the bank of a river, Virgil, *AEn.* vi. 674: here it is used of the "swelling undulation of a wave."

<sup>7</sup> *adluderet*. Comp. Catull. *Epi-*  
*thal.* vv. 66, 67;

*Omnia que toto delapes e corpore passim  
Ipsius ante pedes fluctus saltis adlude-*  
*bant:*

where it will be readily seen that *adludere* is used as a transitive verb, though Davies has hastily altered the reading in Minucius, on the strength of its being used intransitively in this very passage.

<sup>8</sup> *oram legebamus*, "we coasted along the margin of the gently bending shore, beguiling the way all the while with Octavius' stories." V. Index s. v. *molliter*.

<sup>9</sup> *Sed ubi eundi spatium satis justum consumpsimus*. The word *justus*, though formed from *jus*, has a wider acceptation, being used to signify any thing, which is "complete," or "fit in its kind," and "not excessive." Thus Suetonius has the expression "justa statuta," meaning "an ordinary, mean stature;" Ovid, "justus orbis annuli," meaning "a ring that fits the finger;" The Greeks used *dikaios* in a corresponding sense: thus *dikaiā ἄσθνη* is said of "a robe that is not too large or too small for the body;" *dikaiā πίε*, of a "well-proportioned nose." Tertullian employs the sim-

6 viam rursus versis vestigiis terebamus. Et quum ad CAP. III.  
 id loci ventum est, ubi subductæ naviculæ, substratis  
 roboribus, <sup>10</sup>a terrena labe suspensæ quiescebant,  
 pueros videmus certatim gestientes testarum in  
 7 mare jaculationibus ludere. Is lusus est: testam  
 teretem, jactatione fluctuum levigatam, legere de  
 litore: eam testam plano situ digitis comprehen-  
 sam, inclinem ipsum, atque humilem, quantum  
 potest, super undas inrotare: ut illud jaculum vel  
 dorsum maris raderet, enataret, dum leni impetu  
 labitur: vel summis fluctibus tonsis emicaret, emer-  
 8 geret, dum assiduo saltu sublevatur. Is se in

gular expression “quadrata justitia  
 vestis,” *de Pallio*, c. 1. Translate:  
 “But after we had sauntered a mo-  
 “derate distance (i.e. far enough for  
 “pleasure without fatigue), we began  
 “to retrace our steps; and being got  
 “to the dock where the smaller vessels  
 “were drawn up ashore and laid on a  
 “frame of oak, to prevent their being  
 “rotted by contact with the ground,  
 “we espied a parcel of boys, eagerly  
 “engaged in the game of throwing  
 “shells into the sea.” “The game  
 loses much of the dignity conferred  
 on it,” says Lord Hailes, “when it is  
 expressed under the vulgar appella-  
 tion of *Duck and Drake*.” It was  
 called by the Greeks ἐποστρακισμός.  
 (See the Index s. v. *testa*). In the  
 description of the game, which fol-  
 lows: *plano situ comprehensam*  
 means, “held in a horizontal posi-  
 tion;” *inclinem ipsum atque humilem*  
*etc.*, “in a stooping attitude himself,  
 to squir the shell along the surface  
 of the water, as far as he can, so as  
 to make the missile either just skim  
 the sea’s back, and swim along; or

else shaving the tips of the waves, to  
 glance and jump up; according as  
 it moved gently onward, or kept  
 itself up in the air by a succession  
 of leaps.” Before *enataret*, I have,  
 without MS. authority, omitted  
*vel*, in place of which Davies pro-  
 posed to read *nec*: for *raderet*,  
*enataret* appear to be as much syn-  
 onymous as *emicaret*, *emergent*.  
 There is a tendency in our author,  
 as in later writers, particularly those  
 of the African School, to accumu-  
 late synonyms, with no connecting  
 particle; e. g. Ch. i. § 3 *concineret*—  
*vellet*; Ch. iv. § 1 *tacens*, *anxius*, *se-*  
*gregatus*; Ch. v. § 4 *indolexendum*,  
*ingravescendum*; ib. § 5 *suspensa*,  
*sublata*; ib. § 7 *coalita*, *digesta*, *for-*  
*mata*; ib. § 9 *nascitur*, *inspiratur*,  
*attollitur*; Ch. xi. § 2 *mortuis*, *ex-*  
*stinctis*: see also Chh. xvi, xvii,  
 which abound with similar asyn-  
 deta.

<sup>10</sup>a terrena labe suspensæ: *la-*  
*bem* dicit uliginem conosam, qua  
 putrescent carinæ diutino situ.  
 RIGALT.

CAP. III. pueris victorem ferebat, cujus testa et procurreret longius et frequentius exsiliret.

CAP. IV. Igitur quum omnes hac spectaculi voluptate caperemur, Cæcilius <sup>1</sup>nihil intendere, neque de contentione ridere, sed tacens, anxius, segregatus, <sup>2</sup>dolere nescio quid vultu fatebatur. Cui ego: <sup>2</sup> Quid hoc est rei? cur non agnosco, Cæcili, alacritatem tuam illam? et illam oculorum etiam in seriis hilaritatem requiro? Tum ille; Jamdudum <sup>3</sup> me Octavii nostri acriter angit et remordet oratio, qua in te invectus objurgavit negligentia, ut me <sup>3</sup>dissimulanter gravius argueret inscientia. Itaque progrediar ulterius: de toto et integro mihi cum Octavio res est. Si placet ut <sup>4</sup>ipsius sectæ homo <sup>4</sup> cum eo disputem, jam profecto intelliget facilius esse in contubernalibus disputare, quam <sup>5</sup>conserere sapientiam. Modo in istis ad tutelam balnea-

Ch. IV. <sup>1</sup> nihil intendere, "took no notice of what was going on." Comp. ch. vii. 8, *intende templis*; xvii. 11. *mari intende*. For *tacens*, *anxius*, *segregatus*, compare Homer's lines on Bellerophon (*Il.* vi. 202):

ολος δλέρο,  
θν θυμὸν κατέθων, πάτον διθρόπων δλε-  
είσων.

<sup>2</sup> dolere nescio quid vultu fatebatur, "he betrayed by the expression of his countenance that he was uneasy at something or other." Comp. Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. 17: Et vultu morbum incessuque fatetur.

<sup>3</sup> dissimulanter, "covertly."

<sup>4</sup> ipsius sectæ homo, "an actual member of the sect," said in irony. "Opponitur adversario ficto, et quasi

umbratico, qui exercitii tantum gratia adversarii partes in se suscipit, quod fit cum disputatur in contubernalibus." LINDNER.

<sup>5</sup> conserere sapientiam, appears to be a pregnant expression for *conserere sapientem sermonem*: "to engage in close reasoning." Heraldus conjectures that the true reading is *conserere sapienti manum*: Lindner *sapientium modo*. Modo etc.; Ab. Hoven, (cum) *sapientia* = *cum sapientibus*; *Epist.* § 13 *not.*: cf. v. *not.* 10.

<sup>6</sup> me ex tribus medium. The middle place was the place of honour; Ovid, *Fast.* v. 67. Minucius therefore makes an apology for occupying it, saying, that he only sat there in the capacity of "moderator," "arbiter," between the two disputants.

rum jactis et in altum procurrentibus petrarum **CAP. IV.**  
obicibus residamus, ut et requiescere de itinere  
5 possimus, et intentius disputare. Et cum dicto  
ejus assedimus, ita ut <sup>6</sup>me ex tribus medium <sup>7</sup>late-  
ris ambitione protegerent. Nec hoc obsequii fuit,  
aut ordinis, aut honoris, quippe cum amicitia pares  
semper aut accipiat aut faciat: sed ut arbiter et  
utriusque proximus aures darem, et disceptantes duos  
medius segregarem. Tum sic Cæcilius exorsus est:

Quanquam tibi, Marce frater, <sup>1</sup>de quo cum  
maxime quærimus non sit ambiguum; utpote quum  
diligenter in utroque vivendi genere versatus <sup>2</sup>re-  
pudiaris alterum, alterum comprobaris: <sup>3</sup>impræ-  
sentiarum tamen ita tibi informandus est animus,  
<sup>4</sup>ut libram teneas æquissimi judicis, nec in alteram  
partem propensus incumbas, ne non tam ex nostris  
disputationibus nata sententia, quam ex tuis sensi-

Amicitia pares aut accipit  
aut facit was a proverbial line; so  
Aristotle, *Eth.* viii. 7, λέγεται γάρ  
φιλότης ή λογότης.

<sup>7</sup> [lateris i. q. utriusque la-  
teris, JAC. GR.] Ambitione i. q.  
ambitu.

Ch. V. <sup>1</sup> de quo cum maxime  
quærimus, h.e. id, de quo; "the point  
on the discussion of which we are  
now entering." *Cum maxime* in the  
sense of "now," "at this moment,"  
is frequently found in Tacitus; e.g.  
*Ann.* iii. 59; iv. 27; *Hist.* iv. 55, 58,  
tolerant cum maxime inopiam:  
it is also used as a conjunction by  
Liv. xxiii. 24; Cic. *de Off.* i. 13, qui,  
cum maxime fallunt, id agunt ut  
viri boni esse videantur.

<sup>2</sup> repudiaris alterum, alterum  
comprobaris. Repudiaverat ethnici-

corum superstitionem, comproba-  
verat Christi religionem.—*alterum*  
semel tantum in codice legitur,  
OEHLER.

<sup>3</sup> impræsentiarum] "for the pre-  
sent." For the different opinions  
concerning the origin of this word,  
see Index s. v.

<sup>4</sup> ut libram teneas æquissimi ju-  
dicis. Compare Clemens Alexandr.,  
*Pedagog.* Lib. i. c. 10, init.: καθάπερ  
ἐπὶ ζύγῳ τὰς λοοστρατοὺς ἀντιστη-  
κήσωμεν τοῦ δικαίου πλάστιγγας;  
and Shakespere 2d Pt. K. *Henry VI.*  
Act II. Sc. 1. quoted below, Ch. xv.  
§ 2. Further on the sentence *ne non*  
*tam*, etc. appears to be an imitation  
of Cicero, *Parad.* i. 2: "Vereor ne  
cui vestrum ex Stoicorum hominum  
disputationibus, non ex meo sensu  
deprompta haec videatur oratio."

CÆCILIUS'  
SPEECH.  
V—XIII.

CAP. V.

*It must be  
very evident to  
an unpreju-  
diced observer  
of the state of  
human  
affairs gene-  
rally that no  
reliance can  
be placed  
in them:  
again, man is  
by his very  
constitution  
unfitted for  
enquiry into  
the hidden*

CAP. V. bus proleta videatur. Proinde <sup>5</sup>si mihi quasi novus <sup>2</sup> aliquis et quasi ignarus partis utriusque considas, nullum negotium est patefacere, <sup>6</sup>omnia in rebus humanis dubia, incerta, suspensa: magisque omnia verisimilia, quam vera. Quo magis mirum est, non <sup>3</sup> nullos tædio investigandæ penitus veritatis culibet opinioni temere succumbere, quam in explorando pertinaci diligentia perseverare. Itaque indignan- <sup>4</sup> dum omnibus, in dolescendum est, audere quosdam, <sup>7</sup>et hoc <sup>8</sup>studiorum rudes, <sup>9</sup>literarum profanos, expertes, artium etiam sordidarum, certum aliquid de summa rerum, ac majestate decernere, <sup>10</sup>de qua tot omnibus seculis sectarum plurimarum usque adhuc ipsa philosophia liberat. Nec immerito; <sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> si mihi considas, "if you will do me the favour to sit upon this trial."

<sup>6</sup> omnia in rebus humanis incerta. Cecilius starts with assuming the Academic theory of *δκαταληψία*, or nihil percipi posse. Cicero, *Acad. Pr.* II. 9. *Quo minus mirum, etc.*: "And therefore it is the less wonderful that some, disgusted at the trouble of thoroughly investigating the truth, should choose rather to give in to any opinion whatever at a venture, than to take time and pains to sift it." *Potius* is to be implied from the sense.

<sup>7</sup> et hoc, i. q. καὶ ταῦτα, "and that too."

<sup>8</sup> studiorum rudes, *ἀνθρώποι οἱδῶται καὶ δύρδματοι*, *Acta* iv. 13. The enemies of Christianity ridiculed particularly the ignorance of most of its votaries; cf. Lactant. vii. 26, 8, "haec nostra sapientia, quam isti tanquam stultitiam derident, quia nos defendere hanc publice atque adserere non solemus;" and

see an apposite passage ap. Origen c. *Cels.* III. c. 55. p. 144; comp. Arnobius, *adv. Nation.* III. 15; Lucian. *de Peregr. Morte*, p. 338; Neander's *Julian.* § 12.

<sup>9</sup> literarum profanos, "uninitiated in letters." Comp. Macrobius, *in Somn. Scip.* I. 18. *Expertes* is an adjunct to *profanos*: *artium etiam sordidarum*, "men of even the lowest occupations." Another way is to construe *expertes* with *artium*, "not so much as qualified for mean mechanical pursuits." For this sense of *expers* comp. Apuleius, *Metamorph.* III. p. 209; VI. p. 408. ed. Hildebrand.

<sup>10</sup> de qua tot omnibus seculis etc. "about which Philosophy itself, after so many ages in all, and divided as it is into very many sects, deliberates still." Comp. Cicero, *de N.D.* II. 3. *Philosophia*, i. e. philosophi: so above ch. IV, note 5: *sapientia* = *sapientes*.

<sup>11</sup> divina, h. e. Dei.

things of the Universe: it has baffled the researches of sages in all ages and countries: how great presumption then is it, for ignorant and illiterate men, like the Christians, to put forward their own conceits on the Supreme Cause of all things, as verities. Far better to hold with Epicurus that all things are the result of chance, when the notion of the Natural and Moral Government of the World is proved by

quum tantum absit ab exploratione <sup>11</sup>divina humana CAP. V.  
 mediocritas, ut neque quæ supra nos cœlo suspensa  
 sublata sunt, neque quæ infra terram profunda  
 demersa sunt, aut scire sit datum, <sup>12</sup>aut scrutare  
permissum, aut stuprari religiosum : et beati satis,  
 satisque prudentes jure videamur, si secundum <sup>13</sup>illud  
 vetus sapientis oraculum, nosmetipsos familiarius  
 6 noverimus. Sed quatenus indulgentes insano atque  
 inepto labore ultra humilitatis nostræ terminos eva-  
 gamur, et in terram projecti <sup>14</sup>cœlum ipsum, et ipsa  
 sidera audaci cupiditate transcendimus, <sup>15</sup>vel hunc  
 errorem saltem non vanis et formidolosis opinioni-  
 7 bus implicemus. Sint principio omnium <sup>16</sup>semina  
 natura in se coeunte densata : quis hic auctor Deus?

*present matter  
of fact and  
experience to  
be false and  
absurd.*

<sup>12</sup> *aut scrutare permissum, aut  
 stuprari religiosum.* *Scrutare* is a  
 later form of *scrutari*. We find  
 in the writers of the African school  
 the active form of many verbs used  
 for the deponent: e. g. *əmulari,*  
*percontare, lucrare, reluctare, pro-*  
*testare, opitulare*, (*infra c. xii. § 2*):  
*augurare, merere.* The sense of  
*stuprari* is plainly “to lay violent  
 hands on,” i. e. to take forcible  
 possession of: so that the various  
 readings proposed by commentators  
 (such as *rupsari*, *lustrare*, *spurc-*  
*are* or *stirpari*), are entirely  
 out of place. The whole passage  
 may be rendered thus: “And no  
 wonder (that philosophy is baffled):  
 since the greatness of the Deity so  
 much transcends the ken of man’s  
 littleness, that the very things of  
 nature, be they raised above us  
 aloft in the heaven, or sunk deep  
 below the earth, these, I say, we  
 are not privileged to understand,  
 we are forbidden to pry into, we

dare not rudely force.”

<sup>13</sup> *illud vetus oraculum*, i. e. γνῶ-  
 θι σαντόν.

<sup>14</sup> *cœlum-transcendimus.* Horat.  
*Od. I. iii. 58:*

*Cœlum ipsum potimus stultitia.*

Comp. below Ch. xii, 7. “Tales curiosulos et αἰθεροβατοῦντας more suo exagitat in *Icaromenippo* Lucianus, qui et in *Philopatride* (p. 612. 24) Christianis ita: ὑμεῖς πεδάρσιοι δυντες, καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ ὑψηλοῦ ἄπαντα καθρώντες δξυδεριέστατα κατάδε νενοήκατε. πῶς δὲ τὰ τοῦ αἰθέρος; μῶν ἐκλείψει ὁ ἥλιος, η δὲ σελήνη κατὰ κάθετον γενήσεται.” LINDNER. *Insano indulgentes labore;* Virgil. *AEn.* II. 776.

<sup>15</sup> *vel hunc errorem...implicemus,*  
 “let us, even if we fall into this  
 error, at all events avoid inter-  
 weaving it with silly and timid fan-  
 cies.” *Formidolosus* has a passive  
 signification, as in *Tac. Hist.* I. 62;  
*Ter. Eun.* IV. 6. 19.

<sup>16</sup> *semina*, “atoms,” according

CAP. V. sint fortuitis concursionibus totius mundi membra coalita, digesta, formata: quis Deus machinator?

<sup>17</sup> Sidera licet ignis accenderit, et cœlum licet sua <sup>8</sup> materia suspenderit: licet terram fundaverit pondere, et mare licet influxerit e liquore: unde hæc religio, unde formido, quæ superstitione est? Homo <sup>9</sup> et animal omne, quod nascitur, inspiratur a tollitur, elementorum ut voluntaria concretio est, <sup>18</sup> in quæ rursum homo, et animal omne dividitur, solvitur, dissipatur; ita in fontem refluxunt, et in semet omnia revolvuntur, nullo artifice, <sup>19</sup> nec judice, nec auctore. Sic, congregatis ignium seminibus, <sup>20</sup> soles alios atque <sup>10</sup> alios semper splendere; sic, exhalatis terræ vaporibus, <sup>21</sup> nebulas semper adolescere: quibus densatis

to the theory of Epicurus. See Lucr. I. 50; Virgil. *Eclog.* vi. 31—34; Cicero, *Acad.* I. vi. 17; *de N. D.* I. 25.

<sup>17</sup> *sidera licet ignis, etc.*, “The stars may have been lit up by fire, the heavens may have been poised by their own intrinsic levity, the earth depressed by its own intrinsic weight, and the sea may have flowed into its bed from moisture.” *Sua materia* (i. q. sui generis materia) is to be repeated from the former clause before *fundaverit*: some commentators think before *influxerit* also.

<sup>18</sup> *in quæ omne animal ... dissipatur*: Comp. Lucret. I. 250:

Haud igitur reddit in nihilum res ulla, sed omnes  
Discidio redouit in corpora materialia.

Cicero (*de N. D.* I. 25) speaks of corporum interitus et dissipatio.

<sup>19</sup> *nec judice*. Judex est, qui, quemadmodum Ovidius *Metam.* I.

19 canit: litem elementorum diremit. LINDNER.

Hanc Deus et mellor item Natura diremit.

<sup>20</sup> *soles alios*, “ever fresh and fresh suns.” This was the Epicurean hypothesis. Lucret. *de Rer. Nat.* v. 303: *ib.* 669: semina ardoris Quæ faciunt Solis nova semper lumina gigni. Manil. *Astronom.* III. 513. Seque ipse dies aliumque revisit.

<sup>21</sup> *nebulas*, “rain-clouds;” *nubes*, “bright clouds;” *nimbi*, “dark thunder-clouds;” *fulgura*, “flashes of lightning;” *fulmina*, “thunderbolts.”

<sup>22</sup> *adeo passim cadunt*: “yes, they fall indiscriminately, without aim.” So Tibull. II. 3, 41.

Glans aluit veteros; et passim semper amarunt.

The force of *adeo* is difficult to express: it serves as a stronger affirmation of the preceding proposition. Hand, *Tursell.* I. 148, suggests that *ea* has been lost before *adeo*, the

coactisque, nubes altius surgere : iisdem labentibus, CAP. V.  
 pluvias fluere, flare ventos, grandines increpare : vel  
 nimbis collidentibus, tonitrua mugire, rutilare ful-  
 11 gura, fulmina præemicare ; <sup>23</sup> adeo passim cadunt,  
<sup>23</sup> montes irruunt, arboribus incurront : <sup>24</sup> sine delectu  
 tangunt loca sacra et profana : homines noxios  
 feriunt, sæpe et religiosos. Quid tempestates loquar  
 varias ac incertas ; quibus, <sup>25</sup> nullo ordine vel ex-  
 amine, <sup>26</sup> rerum omnium impetus volutatur ? in nau-  
 fragiis, bonorum malorumque fata mixta, merita  
 confusa ? in incendiis, interitum convenire inson-  
 tium nocentiumque ? et, quum tabe pestifera cæli  
 tractus inficitur, <sup>27</sup> sine discriminè omnes deperire ?  
 et, quum belli ardore sævitur, meliores potius occum-

use of which particle here he refers to the case, "ubi aliqua persona vel res, aliis ex adverso apposita, insig- niter est demonstranda."

<sup>23</sup> *montes irruunt*, i. q. rrunt in montes. Comp. Sall. *Jugurth.* cap. lviij., *Merivale*: Claudian. *Cons. Manl.* v. 195.

*Irruit intrepidus flammae.*  
 Valer. Flacc. *Argon.* II. 147 :  
*gravis irrit Ochum Phleias.*

<sup>24</sup> *sine delectu tangunt loca sacra et profana*. The same argument is given to disprove the government of the world by providence in Lucr. vi. 416, sq.:

*Postremo cur sancta deum delubra, suas- que*  
*Discutit infesto preclaras fulmine sedes,*  
*Et bene facta deum frangit simulacra, suis-*  
*que*  
*Demit imaginibus violento vulnere hono-*  
*rem?*

And by Aristophanes, *Nub.* 399,  
*kai πῶς, ὡ μῶρο σὺ καὶ Κρονίων δέων καὶ*  
*βεκκεστήγηε,*

εἴπερ βάλλει τὸν ἐπύρχοντα δῆτ', οὐδὲ  
 Σίμων' ἐνέπρησεν;  
 οὐδὲ Κλεόνυμον οὐδὲ Θεόρον; καίτοι σφέ-  
 δρα γ' εἰσ' ἐπύρχονται.  
 οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ γε τεῦν βάλλει, καὶ  
 Σούνιον ἄρκον Αθηνῶν  
 καὶ τὰς δρῦς τᾶς μηγέλας; τί μαθόντι  
 οὐ γὰρ δὴ δρῦς γ' ἐπύρχει.

<sup>25</sup> *nullo examine*, i. q. *nullo ju-  
 dicio*; "unswayed and orderless."  
 Cf. xv. 2. *examine.scrupuloso li-  
 bremus.*

<sup>26</sup> *rerum omnium impetus*, "the rapid motion or whirl of all things." Comp. Cic. *de Divin.* II. 38: *i m-  
 petum cœli admirabili cum celeri-  
 tate moveri videmus*; Lucret. v. 201:

*quantum cœli tegit impetus ingens.*

<sup>27</sup> *sine discriminè omnes*. So Thucydides in his description of the plague at Athens, ii. 53; θεῶν δὲ φόβος ή ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπείρυτος, τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες ἐν δύοις καὶ σέβειν καὶ μῆ, ἐκ τοῦ πάντας δρῶν ἐν ισῷ ἀπολλυμένους.

CAP. V. bere? In pace etiam, non tantum æquatur nequitia 12  
 melioribus, <sup>28</sup> sed et colitur: ut in pluribus nescias,  
<sup>29</sup> utrum sit eorum detestanda pravitas, an optanda  
 felicitas. Quod si mundus divina providentia, et 13  
 alicujus numinis auctoritate regeretur, <sup>30</sup> numquam  
 mereretur Phalaris et Dionysius regnum, numquam  
 Rutilius et Camillus exsilium; numquam Socrates  
 venenum. Ecce arbusta frugifera, ecce <sup>31</sup> jam seges 14  
 cana, jam temulenta vindemia imbri corruptitur,  
 grandine cæditur. <sup>32</sup>Adeo aut incerta nobis veritas  
 occultatur et premitur: <sup>33</sup>aut, quod magis credendum

<sup>28</sup> *sed et colitur*, “is not only put on a level with, but even procures a revered preeminence.” *Nequitia*, i.e. *homines nequam*: cf. supra ch. iv, note 5.

<sup>29</sup> *utrum sit eorum detestanda pravitas an optanda felicitas*. Hinc impium Hesiodi votum *Opp.* v. 270: *νῦν δὴ τῷ μητὶ αὐτῷ ἐν ἀθρόωσι δικαιος*

*σῖνη μητὶ ἔμεις νίδη, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἀδέρφαι δίκαιον*

*ἔμεναι εἰ μείζω γε δίκαιη ἀδικάρεπος ἔξι.*

In eandem mentem nonnulla dixit Aristophanes, *Plut.* vv. 29, seqq.;

Pindarus apud Platon. *Republ.* II.

p. 365, A. B.; *Maximum Tyrium*,

*Dissert.* II. DAVIES.

<sup>30</sup> *numquam mereretur Phalaris regnum, etc.* Mereretur i. q. consequeretur: see below, vi. note 4. The whole of this argument is borrowed from Cicero *de Nat.* III. 32, where it is expressed in the following quotation:

Nam si curent, bene bonis sit, male malis,  
 quod nunc abest.

Numberless passages could be brought to prove how this objection perplexed the heathen, as the

beautiful introduction of Clandian to his poem in *Rufiana*; which from the resemblance it bears to parts of Minucius (ch. xvii.). I subjoin:

*Sepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem,  
 Curarent superi terras, an nullus inesse  
 Rector, et incerto fluenter mortalia casu.  
 Nam quam dispositi quassim fœdera  
 mundi,*

*Prescriptoque maris fines, annique mea-  
 tus,*

*Et lucis noctisque vices, tunc omnis rebar  
 Consilio firmata Dei, qui lege moveri  
 Sidera, qui fruges diverso tempore nasci.  
 Qui varium Phœben alieno jusserit igne  
 Compleri, solemque suo: porrexit undis  
 Litora: tellurem medio libraverit axe.  
 Sed quum res hominum tanta caligine  
 volvi*

*Adspicerem, letosque diu florere nocentes,  
 Vexarique plor: rursus labefacta cadebat  
 Beligo, causaque viam non sponte sequebar  
 Alterius, vacuo que currere semina motu  
 Affirmat, magnumque novas per inane  
 figuræ*

*Fortuna, non arte, regi: que numina  
 sensu*

*Ambiguo vel nulla putat, vel nescia nostri.*

*Comp. Lucan. *Bell. Phar.* VII. 446;*

*Sophocl. *Philoct.* 447, sqq.; Ovid.*

*Amor.* III. 8:

*Dum rapiunt mala fata bonos, ignoscite  
 fasso;*

*Solicitor nullos esse putare Deos.*

est, variis et lubricis casibus, soluta legibus fortuna CAP. VI.  
 1 dominatur. Quum igitur aut fortuna <sup>1</sup>certa, aut  
 incerta natura sit, quanto venerabilius ac melius  
<sup>2</sup>antistitem veritatis majorum excipere disciplinam ?  
<sup>3</sup>religiones traditas colere ? deos, quos a parentibus  
 ante imbutus es timere, quam nosse familiarius,  
 adorare ? nec de numinibus ferre sententiam, sed  
 prioribus credere, qui, adhuc rudi saeculo, in ipsis  
 mundi natalibus, <sup>4</sup>meruerunt deos vel faciles habere,  
 2 vel reges ? <sup>5</sup>Inde adeo per universa imperia, pro-  
 vincias, oppida, videmus singulos sacrorum ritus

*In this un-  
 certainty the  
 best way is,  
 without pre-  
 suming to  
 judge of the  
 gods, to follow  
 the traditions  
 of our remote  
 ancestors, to  
 whose active  
 and zealous  
 piety in con-  
 ciliating the  
 tutelar deities  
 of all other  
 nations, whom  
 they incorpo-  
 rated into the  
 national re-  
 ligion, must  
 be ascribed  
 the founda-*

The Apologists employed themselves in refuting this position : see Justin. M. *Apol.*, Clem. *Alexandr.* *Cohort. ad Gent.*, Theodoret. *de Provident.*, Athenag. *de Resurrec.* *Mortuor.* c. 17.

<sup>31</sup> *jam seges cana*, “the corn-fields just white unto harvest:” *jam temulenta vindemia*, “the vintage just ripe for the press.”

<sup>32</sup> *Adeo*, “So then;” “I tell you then.”

<sup>33</sup> *aut quod magis credendum est... fortuna dominatur*] “or, which is a more probable inference from the variety and sudden nature of disasters, fortune unfettered by restraint reigns paramount.” It was a common notion amongst the heathen, *μηδένα νομοθετεῖν μήδεν, τύχας δὲ εἴναι σχέδον δικαία τὰ διθράσκια πρόφυματα*, Plato, *de Legg.* IV. p. 709 b ; cf. Juven. *Sat.* XIII. 86. Lactantius tells us that she was represented *cum copia et gubernaculo, tanquam et opes tribuat et humanarum rerum regimen obtineat*, *Div. Inst.* III. 27 : Stobæns, *Ecl. Phys.* II. 402.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. VI. *certa*, h. e. si vel hoc

certum est, omnia fortuito evenire ; vel Deus (hic enim gentilibus natura dicitur) incertus est. Conf. cap. viii, 1. LINDNER.

<sup>2</sup> *antistitem veritatis*, “as holding the keys of truth,” or “declaring her voice.” Cf. Tertull. *Apol.* c. xix.

<sup>3</sup> *deos...adorare*. Tacit. *Germ.* cap. 14: *Reverentius visum est de actis Deorum credere quam scire*, GEORNOVIUS.

<sup>4</sup> *meruerunt Deos vel faciles habere vel reges*, “whose privilege it was to have gods for their benefactors or for their kings.” *Faciles* is equivalent to *beneficos*, as in Juv. vii. 87 ; Virgil. *Ecl.* III. 9 :

*Faciles nymphæ risere.*

By *qui meruerunt* no more is expressed than would have been by *quibus contigit, datum est*: *mereri* often signifying simply “to earn,” without any notion of personal merit: compare above, ch. v. note 30: below, ch. vi. note 18, *meruerunt regna* : ch. xiii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Inde adeo*; *adeo* is here emphatic. “From this circumstance in fact;” “just from this circumstance.” Hand, *Turcellin.* I. p. 144.

**CAP. VI.** gentiles habere, et <sup>6</sup>deos colere municipes, ut Eleusinios Cererem, Phrygas Matrem, Epidaurios Aesculapium, Chaldaeos Belum, Astarten Syros, Dianam Tauros, Gallos Mercurium, <sup>7</sup>universa Romanos. Sic <sup>8</sup> eorum potestas et auctoritas, totius orbis ambitus occupavit: sic imperium suum <sup>9</sup>ultra solis vias, et ipsius Oceani limites propagavit, dum <sup>10</sup>exercent in armis virtutem religiosam, dum urbem muniunt sacrorum religionibus, castis virginibus, multis honoribus, ac nominibus sacerdotum: dum obseSSI, et <sup>11</sup>citra solum capitolium capti, colunt deos, quos alias jam sprevisset, iratos; et <sup>12</sup>per Gallorum acies mirantium superstitionis audaciam pergunt telis inermes, sed cultu religionis armati: <sup>13</sup>dum, captis in hostilibus mœnibus adhuc ferociente victoria, nu-

<sup>6</sup> *deos municipes*, "such gods as are of their own community."

Cf. Tertullian. *Apolog.* c. xxiv. By *matrem* is meant *Cybele*, so called *κατ' ἔξοχην*, Virgil. *Georg.* iv. 64; *AEn.* iii. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *universa Romanos*, sc. sacra, understood from *sacrorum ritus*, or perhaps *numina*. All but the true Deity: and why? Augustin supplies the answer, where he tells us (*de Civ. Dei. Lib. ix.*): "Haec ratio est cur Hebreorum Deum, cum omnia numina Romani suscooperint, rejecerint, quod ille solus coli volebat sine socio et semulo maiestatis."

<sup>8</sup> *ultra solis vias*. Poetice dictum (Virgil *AEn.* vi. 795): *ultra solem orientem et occidentem*, i. e., longissime. Oriri enim sol videbatur Italos ex Mari Supero et occidere in mari Infero. Ovidius *Fast.* ii. 130:

Hoc duce Romanum est Solis utrumque latum.

Veget. *de Re Mil.* i. 8. LINDNER.

<sup>9</sup> *exercent*, sc. Romani, implied from preceding *eorum*. *Dum urbem muniunt*: comp. Cic. *de N. D.* iii. cap. ult.; diligentius *urbem religione*, quam ipsi mœnibus cingitis.

<sup>10</sup> *citra solum capitolium capti etc.*, "when they had no other retreat left but the Capitol, they worshipped deities, that any other people would, ere then, have blasphemed because of their desertion of them."

<sup>11</sup> *per Gallorum acies*. The facts are recorded by Livy, v. 46, Valer. *Max.* i. 1,

<sup>12</sup> *dum captis vi hostilibus mœnibus*. Sensus est: Romani urbibus hostium vi captis, etiam inter ferocitatem victoriarum, ubi alias pietas omnis exsulat, tamen numina victa venerari sunt. LINDNER. It was the

*tion of the  
greatness, and  
the vast ex-  
tent of the  
Roman em-  
pire.*

mina victa venerantur: dum undique hospites deos **CAP. VI.**  
 quærunt et suos faciunt: dum aras exstruunt  
**5** etiam ignotis numinibus et manibus. Sic dum uni-  
 versarum gentium sacra suscipiunt, etiam regna <sup>13</sup> me-  
 ruerunt. Hinc perpetuus venerationis tenor mansit,  
 qui longa ætate non infringitur, sed augetur: quippe  
<sup>14</sup> antiquitas cærimoniis atque fanis tantum sancti-  
 tatis tribuere consuevit, quantum adstruxerit vetus-  
**1** tatis. <sup>1</sup>Nec tamen temere, (ausim enim interim et **CAP. VII.**  
 ipse concedere et sic melius errare) majores nostri,  
 aut observandis auguriis aut extis consulendis aut  
 instituendis sacris aut delubris dedicandis operam  
**2** navaverunt. Specta de libris <sup>2</sup>memorias: jam eos  
 deprehendes initiasse ritus omnium religionum, vel  
 ut remuneraretur divina indulgentia, vel ut averte-

Instances and  
proofs of the  
favourable  
agency of the  
Roman  
deities.

custom, before carrying a city by storm, to evoke its tutelary gods and invite them to Rome. See the commentators on Arnobius *adv. Nat.* iii. 38.

<sup>13</sup> *meruerunt* i.q. *adepti sunt*: v. supra ch. v. note 8. It was this fondness for Polytheism, and the prevailing belief that Rome should be the Pantheon of all forms of worship, (*Dignus Roma locus, quo deus omnis est*

OVID. *Fast.* iv. 275), which occasioned Petronius Arbiter's remark, that it was easier to find a god than a man at Rome, (*facilius deum quam hominem invenias*).

<sup>14</sup> *antiquitas—vetustatis*. Comp. Cicer. *de Div.* ii. 33; errabat enim in multis antiquitas, quam vel usu jam, vel doctrina, vel vetustate immutatam videmus. *Antiquitas* = antiqui: abstract for concrete; cf. supra, Ch. iv, note 5: infra, Ch. viii, note 3.

Ch. VII. <sup>1</sup> *Nec tamen temere—ausim enim etc.* ““ I venture for argument’s sake, to suppose the existence of the gods, which is the safer error; and on that supposition, I assert that it was not without just cause that our forefathers &c.” The meaning seems to be: “ If by this concession that there are superintending divinities, I should fall into superstitious error, still my error is preferable to that of Octavius: for I am to speak of divinities who protect their votaries; whereas the god of Octavius concerns not himself for his.”” HAILES. V. Cicero, *de N. D.* ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *memorias*; objectively, i. q. *memorationes*; “narratives:” cf. ch. xvi. § 6: in *memorias* exierunt, ch. xxxi. § 2. *memoriae* et *tragoediae vestræ* gloriantur. *de libris* i.q. *librorum*: vide Hand, *Tursellin.* ii. p. 203.

CAP. VII. *retur imminens ira, aut ut jam tumens et sœviens placaretur.* Testis mater Idæa, quæ adventu suo <sup>3</sup> et probavit <sup>3</sup> matronæ castitatem et urbem metu hostili liberavit: testes <sup>4</sup> equestrum fratum <sup>5</sup> in lacu, sicut ostenderant, statuæ consecratæ, qui anhelis, spumantibus equis atque fumantibus de Perse victoriam, eadem die, qua <sup>6</sup>fecerant, nuntiaverunt. Testis ludorum offensi Jovis <sup>7</sup> de somno plebeii ho- <sup>4</sup> minis iteratio: et <sup>8</sup>Deciorum devotio rata testis est; testis et <sup>9</sup>Curtius, qui equitis sui vel mole vel honore

<sup>3</sup> *matrone castitatem.* The story of Claudio is to be found in Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 305, sqq.; Sil. Ital. xvii. 34; Livy xxix. 14, where also she is called *matrona*. It is hinted at by Tertullian *Apol.* 22; and told more at large by Lactantius *de Orig. Erroris*, cap. 7; cf. August. *de C. D.* x. 16. For an explanation of the next sentence, *urbem—liberavit*, see Livy, xxix. 10: Civitatem eo tempore recens religio invaserat, invento carmine in libris Sibyllinis, propter crebrius eo anno de celo lapidatum inspectis: quandoque hostis alienigena terræ Italæ bellum intulisset, eum pelli Italia vincique posse, si mater Idæa a Pessinunte Romam advecta foret: cf. Arnob. *adv. Nat.* vii. 49.

<sup>4</sup> *equestrum fratum statuæ*, called *phantasmata Castorum* by Tertullian (*ubi supra*): comp. Lactantius *I. I.* They are quoted as instances of a providence by Balbus ap. Cicer. *de N. D.* ii. 2. Cf. *Tusc. Q.* i. 12; Val. Max. I. viii.

<sup>5</sup> *in lacu*, Juturnæ. Valer. Max. I. viii. 1, 2; Florus ii. 12. *Sicut ostenderant* i.e. eodem habitu, quo se

ostenderant.

<sup>6</sup> *fecerant* i. q. *præstiterant*.

<sup>7</sup> *de somno*, “because of the dream:” Hand, *Tursell.* ii. p. 207, or perhaps “after the dream.” For the story, see Liv. ii. 36; Val. Max. i. 7, § 4; Arnob. vii. 39.

<sup>8</sup> *Deciorum devotio.* See Liv. viii. 9; x. 28; Val. Max. v. 6; Cicer. *de N. D.* iii. 36.

<sup>9</sup> *testis et Curtius.* See Liv. vii. 6; Val. Max. v. 6; cf. Dionys. Halic. ii. 42; Liv. i. 18. If *Curtius* refer to Marcus himself, the words *qui equitis sui etc.*, may mean, “who “with the bulk of himself and horse” (lit. himself on horseback, *mole equitis sui* for *mole sua*, *qui eques erat*) “together with the offerings “of corn thrown in by the Roman “people, as a mark of honour, filled up the chasm.” But *equitis* is taken by some to be the same as *equi*, of which use there are classical examples, according to the authority of A. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xviii. 5. Again, others understand *lacu* with *Curtius*. Perhaps *equitans* may be the true reading.

<sup>10</sup> *sic Allia nomen infastum.* *Æn.* vii. 717. It was here that the

5 hiatum profundæ voragini coequavit. Frequen- CAP. VII.  
 tius etiam quam volebamus, deorum præsentiam  
 contemta auspicia contestata sunt. <sup>10</sup>Sic Allia  
 nomen infaustum : <sup>11</sup>sic Claudi et Junii non prœ-  
 lium in Pœnos, sed ferale naufragium est. Et ut  
 Trasimenus Romanorum sanguine et major esset  
 et decolor, <sup>12</sup>sprevit auguria Flaminius; et, <sup>13</sup>ut  
 Parthos signa repetamus, dirarum imprecatio-  
 nes  
 7 Crassus et meruit et irrigit. Omitto vetera, quæ  
 multa sunt, et de deorum natalibus, donis, muneri-

Gauls gave the Romans such a fatal overthrow B.C. 389, that dies Alliensis, went proverbially for "dies infaustus," Liv. vi. 1; hence Lucan vii. 406 speaks of it as :  
 . . . . . damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis :  
 Comp. Suetonius Vitell. c. vii.; Tacitus Hist. ii. 21. It was set down to contemta auspicia, because Q. Sulpicius, before he engaged with the Gauls, sacrificed the day after the Ides, which was reckoned an unlucky day. Cf. Liv. v. 37; vi. 1; Macrobius, Saturn. i. 16.

<sup>11</sup> sic Claudi et Junii. P. Claudius, son of Appius Cæcus, elected consul in the 1st Punic war, B.C. 249, commanded the fleet sent to reinforce the troops at Lilybæum. In defiance of the auguries he attacked the Carthaginian fleet lying in the harbour of Drepana, but was entirely defeated with the loss of almost all his forces. Cicero, de Div. i. 16; ii. 8, 33; de N. D. ii. 35; Suet. Tiber. c. ii.; Valer. Max. I. iv. 3; "Collega ejus Junius (says Cicero de Nat. Deor. l.l.) tempestate classem amisit, cum auspiciis non parvisset."

<sup>12</sup> sprevit auguria Flaminius;

quod signifer defixum signum non poterat convellere. Leg. Livium xxii. 3. Ferociter enim apud Silium dixit lib. V. v. 118;

Sat magnus in hostem  
 Augur adest ensis, pulcrumque et militi  
 dignum  
 Auspicium Latio, quod in armis dextera  
 præstat. CELLARIUS.

<sup>13</sup> ut Parthos signa repetamus. The passages in which petere and its compounds are found with a double accusative are mostly disputed; v. Hildebrand, ad Apul. Apol. Lib. iv. c. 32. Hence it has been proposed to substitute a Partho or a Parthis for Parthos, or else for repetamus to read reposcamus, the word which is employed by Virgil, Aen. vii. 606:

Parthosque reposcere signa;  
 and Sueton. Octav. c. 21 : signa mi-  
 litaria, quæ M. Crasso ademerant,  
 reposcenti reddiderunt. Dirarum imprecatio-  
 nes : Flor. Epit. iii. xi : tribunus plebis Metellus exeun-  
 tem ducem hostilibus diris devove-  
 rat: cf. Plutarch Vit. Crass. p.  
 224. Vell. Patric. II. 46. 2; Cic. de  
 Div. I. 35.

CAP. VII. bus negligo carmina poetarum : <sup>14</sup> prædicta etiam de oraculis fata transilio, ne vobis antiquitas nimium fabulosa videatur. <sup>15</sup> Intende templis ac delubris <sup>8</sup> deorum, quibus Romana civitas et protegitur et ornatur ; <sup>16</sup> magis sunt augusta numinibus incolis, præsentibus, inquilinis, quam cultus insignibus et muneribus opulenta. Inde adeo pleni et mixti Deo vates <sup>17</sup> futura præcerpunt, dant cautelam periculis, morbis medelam, spem afflictis, opem miseris, solatum calamitatibus, laboribus levamentum : etiam per quietem deos videmus, audimus, agnoscimus, quos impie per diem negamus, nolumus, <sup>18</sup> pejeramus.

<sup>14</sup> *prædicta de oraculis fata* : cf. supra note 2; *specta de libris memorias*.

<sup>15</sup> *Intende templis*, sc. oculos : so mari intende, ch. xvii. § 11 : conf. supra, iv. note 1.

<sup>16</sup> *magis sunt augusta numinibus præsentibus*. Cf. Juv. XIII. 111, Tempiorum quoque majestas præsentior. The heathen did not believe the images themselves to be gods; but only that they were to be worshipped because of the indwelling deities, which were introduced by a kind of magical consecration and there confined. Thus we see why the Greeks called their temples *vaoi*, as being the dwelling of the god (*valeiv*), and the Latins, *ædes*. Compare Arnobius *adv. Nat. Lib. vi.* c. 1—4. Idcirco attribuimus diis templo, ut eos possimus coram et minus contueri et cum præsentibus quodammodo venerationum colloquia miscere : Cicero, *de N. D.* ii. 27; concinneque, ut multa, Titemus, qui quum in historia dixisset,

qua nocte natus Alexander esset, eadem Dianaë Ephesiae templum deflagravisse, adjunxit minime id esse mirandum, quod Diana, quum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisse, abfuisse domi. It was against this notion that St Paul says (*Acts xvii.*): δ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν δινθρωπίων θεραπεύεται προσδεόμενος τινος.

<sup>17</sup> *futura præcerpunt* : ex auditu seu revelatione divina. Tertullianus *Apolog. cap. xxii.* sic carpendi verbo usus est. *CELLAE.*

<sup>18</sup> *ejeramus*, i.q. non agnoscimus, is the conjectural reading of I. F. Gronovius (*Observ. in Script. Eccles. Mon. cap. vii. p. 73*) for *pejeramus*, which he rejects on the ground that the latter part of the sentence is covertly directed against the Christians, who could not well be said *pejorare deos*, “to swear falsely by gods,” whom they did not believe in. His explanation of the passage is as follows: Nullum

Itaque quum omnium gentium de diis immorta- CAP.VIII.  
libus, quamvis incerta sit vel ratio vel origo, maneatur tamen firma consensio; neminem fero tanta audacia tamque <sup>1</sup>irreligiosa nescio qua prudentia tumescentem, qui hanc religionem tam vetustam, tam utilem, tam salubrem dissolvere aut infirmare <sup>2</sup>nitatur. <sup>2</sup>Sit licet ille Theodorus Cyrenaeus, vel qui prior, Diagoras Milesius, cui Atheon cognomen apposuit antiquitas, qui uterque, nullos deos adseverando, timorem omnem, quo <sup>3</sup>humanitas regitur, venerationemque penitus sustulerunt: numquam tamen in hac impietatis disciplina simulatae philosophiae nomine atque auctoritate pollebunt. Quum

Wherefore since all nations concur in the belief of the gods, we cannot brook those, who go about to undo a belief so ancient, and so full of practical benefit: not even professed philosophers, much less a rabble of profane, ignorant and abandoned fanatics, secret traitors, bad citizens, unsocial in their manners, worthless in their conduct,

hominem esse censeo, cui non eveniat interdum saltem, ut secundum quietem deorum cernat speciem, audiat voces, agnoscat majestatem, et tamen sunt inter homines, qui eos per diem negent, nolint, ejerent.

Ch. VIII. <sup>1</sup>irreligiosa nescio qua prudentia tumescentem: "puffed up with conceit of his irreverent sort of wit." Lindner compares Lactant. *de Ira*, c. 12: nunc quoniam respondimus impie quorundam detestabilique prudentiae.

<sup>2</sup>sit licet ille Theodorus Cyrenaeus: "let him be a Theodorus of Cyrene, or his predecessor Diagoras the Milesian." On Theodorus see Diogen. Laert. ii. 86, 101 sqq.; Cicer. *Tusc. Disput.* i. 43; *de Nat. Deor.* i. i. 2. On Diagoras, Tatian *ad Græc.* § 27, ed. Otto: Διαγόρας Ἀθηναῖος ἦν, δλλά τούτου ἐξορχησάμενον τὰ παρ' Ἀθηναῖοι μυστήρια τετιμωρήκατε· καὶ τοῖς Φρυγίοις αὐτοῦ λόγοις ἐντυγχνοῦντες

ἥμᾶς μεμισήκατε: Plutarch *de Plac. Phil.* lib. i. c. 7. In the whole of this passage there is plainly an appropriation of Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* i. i. 2: whose words are, 'deos esse dixit dubitare se Protagoras; nullos esse omnino Diagoras Melius, et Theodorus Cyrenaicus putaverunt:' and a little further, 'haud scio an pietate adversus deos sublatā fides etiam et societas humani generis et una excellentissima virtus justitia tollatur.'

It is doubtful whether the epithet *Milesius* instead of the usual *Melius* is due to the transcribers or to Minucius himself. I have ascribed it to the latter, for Chrysostom (*Hom. iv. in 1. Ep. ad Corinth.* c. 1), Eusebius, Theodore, all agree in calling him by the same name. See Bentley on *Callimach. Fragn.* 86.

<sup>3</sup>humanitas, i. q. genus huma- num, cf. ch. xxvi. § 10; so gentilitas is used for gens, ch. x. § 4. Ἀρθρωπότης is used similarly to sig-

**CAP.VIII.** Abderitem Protagoram Athenienses viri, <sup>ediously stubborn in their religious faith: which is rapidly gaining ground, and requires to be put down and demolished.</sup> <sup>VIII.-IX. I.</sup> **6** consulte potius quam profane de divinitate disputantem et expulerint suis finibus et in concione ejus scripta deusserint: <sup>5</sup> quid? homines (sustinebitis enim me impetum susceptæ actionis liberius exserentem) homines, inquam, <sup>6</sup>deploratæ, <sup>7</sup>inlicitæ ac <sup>8</sup>desperate

nify "mankind" in Theophil. *ad Autolyc.* lib. 1 ch. 12. (Davies).

<sup>4</sup> *consulte potius quam profane*, "sceptically rather than profanely," "circumspectly, without avowed profaneness." There is doubtless a reference to Cicero *de N. D.* 1. 2: Nam Abderites quidem Protagoras cum in principio libri sic posuisset, de divis neque ut sint neque ut non sint habeo dicere, Atheniensium jussu urbe atque agro est exterminatus, librique ejus in concione combusti. Compare Theophil. *ad Autolyc.* lib. III. c. vii. Diog. Laert. ix. 50, sqq.

*profane* disputat, qui Deos aut plane negat aut impie de iis loquitur. LINDNER.

<sup>5</sup> *quid homines etc.*; "what? is it not a mournful thing, that a "gang of fellows (you must bear "with me while I give its full force "to the plea which I have under- "taken) a gang, I say, of forlorn "fellows, desperadoes, put under the "ban of our laws, should commit "assault on the gods?"

<sup>6</sup> *deploratæ*: Ita dicebantur Christiani, quis in illis reformatiis atque de sententia deducendis frustra jam omnia gentes tentaverant. Sic deplorati a medicis apud Plinius vii. 50. LINDNER.

<sup>7</sup> *inlicitæ*: So Celsus accuses the Christians *ως συνθήκας κρύβονται τὰ νεμομισμένα ποιουμένων*

*Orig. i. i.*: Christianity not yet having been admitted by the laws of the state into the class of *religiones licite*. See Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. I. § 1. 3; Woodham on Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. xxi. note 2, and c. xxxviii.

<sup>8</sup> *desperate*. Lactantius *de Justitia* cap. viii. § xii.; qui magni *estimaverint fidem, cultoresque Dei non abnegaverint, in eos vero totis carnificinae sue viribus, valuti sanguinem sitiant, incumbunt et desperatos vocant, quia corpori suo minime parcent*: Tertullian *Apol.* c. 50; merito itaque victimis non placemus; propterea enim desperati et perditæ existimamur. Sed hæc desperatio et perditio penes vos, in causa gloriæ et famæ vexillum virtutis extollunt. Cf. Bingham's *Antiqq.* Book I. ch. ii. § 8.

<sup>9</sup> *grassari in deos*: hence they were traduced as *athei* and *impii*; Arnob. i. 29; iii. 28. Vide infra ch. viii. not. 14, and Bingham *I. l.* Book I. ch. ii. § 2; Cave *Prim. Christ.* Part I. Ch. i. For the meaning of *grassari* see Merivale on Sallust, *Jugurth.* ch. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *de ultima fece, sub. hominibus*; Hand, *Tarsellia*. ii. 203. In like manner CELSUS *ap. Origen.* lib. II. p. 161 says of them: *μόνον τοῦς ιδιάθλους καὶ ἀγεννεῖς καὶ αὐτοθίστους καὶ αὐδράποδα καὶ γύνατα καὶ παιδάρια τείθεις θέλοντες καὶ δύνανται*: and again p. 144;

factionis <sup>9</sup>grassari in deos, non ingemiscendum est? CAP.VIII.  
 4 qui <sup>10</sup>de ultima fæce collectis imperitoribus et mul-  
 eribus credulis, sexus sui facilitate labentibus, ple-  
 bem <sup>11</sup>profanae conjurationis instituunt; quæ <sup>12</sup>noc-  
 turnis congregationibus et <sup>13</sup>jejuniis solemnibus et  
<sup>14</sup>inhumanis cibis, <sup>15</sup>non sacro quodam sed piaculo

δρῶμεν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ιδίας οἰκίας  
 ἔρωτάργους καὶ σκυτοτόμους καὶ  
 κναφεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀπαιδέντους τε  
 καὶ ἄγριοκοτύπους...ἐπειδὴν τὸν  
 παῖδεν ίδιᾳ λάβωνται καὶ γυναῖ-  
 ων τινῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνοήτων, θαυ-  
 μάστι ἀττα διεξιοντας κ.τ.λ. Comp.  
 Lactantius de Justitia c. xiii. § 8;  
 Si enim feminæ sexus infirmi-  
 tate labuntur (nam interdum isti  
 mulierem aut anilem supersti-  
 tionem vocant) viri certe sapiunt:  
 and cap. xx.; Theodoret. Græc. aff.  
 cur. p. 81, 82, ed. Gaisford; ἐστιν  
 ιδεῖν ταῦτα εἰδότας τὰ δόγματα  
 οὐ μόνος γε τῆς ἁκκλησίας τοῦ  
 διδασκαλοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκυτοτόμους  
 χαλκοτύπους καὶ ταλασιούργους  
 καὶ τοὺς ἔλλοντας ἀχειροβιώτους  
 καὶ γυναικας ἀσάντια οὐ μόνον  
 τὰς λόγων μετεσχηκυλας, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 χερπίτιδας καὶ δκεστρίδας καὶ μέν-  
 τοι καὶ θεραπαίνας<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἑστιν εὐ-  
 ρεῖν καὶ σκαπανέας καὶ βοηλάτας  
 καὶ φυτούργους περὶ τῆς θείας δα-  
 λεγομένους Τριάδος, καὶ περὶ τῆς  
 δλων δημιουργίας, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρω-  
 πελαν φύσιν εἰδότας Ἀριστοτέλους  
 πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ Πλάτωνος. Com-  
 pare a passage in Tatian, Orat. ad  
 Græc. § 33, where Maranus adduces  
 Justin Martyr Apol. II. c. xi.; Clem.  
 Alexand. Strom. p. 497: Lactant.  
 Inst. Div. VI. c. 4; and also Cyril.  
 contr. Julian. VII. p. 229.

<sup>11</sup> profanae conjurationis, i.e.  
 "conspiracy against the gods."

<sup>12</sup> nocturnis congregationibus,  
 Plinii ad Trajanum de Christianis.  
 Soliti statim die ante lucem  
 convenire: carnemque Chris-  
 to, quasi Deo, dicere invicem.  
 Tertullianus ad Uzorem cap. iv. noc-  
 turnas convocationes appellat. CEL-  
 LAR. Thus it was the hard lot of the  
 Christians, that they could neither  
 meet openly without exposing them-  
 selves to violence, nor in secret, with-  
 out subjecting themselves to sus-  
 picion. Cave, Prim. Christ. part. I.  
 ch. viii.; Bingham, Antiquit. Bk. II.  
 ch. ii. § 9: Kortholt, Pag. Obt. c. xvi.

<sup>13</sup> jejuniis solemnibus: their "so-  
 lemn fasts," which they called sta-  
 tiones, i. e. watches of the milites  
 Christi: Tertull. ad Uzor. II.  
 c. 4; de Fug. c. 1; de Orat. cap.  
 ult.; de Jejun. c. xii. stationum  
 semijejunia. They were kept on  
 Wednesdays and Fridays, and usu-  
 ally lasted till 3 P. M. Cave I. c.  
 Part. 1, ch. vii. p. 180; Beveridge,  
 Canon. LXIX.

<sup>14</sup> inhumanis cibis, "unnatural  
 repasts;" v. infra ch. ix. § 6. Τρία  
 ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ὅγκλήματα,  
 says Athenagoras, Leg. pro Christ.  
 § 8, ἀθεοτρητα, Θυέστεια δεῖπνα,  
 Οἰδιποδεῖνον μίξεις: cfr. Theophr.  
 ad Autolyc. III. § 4: τὸ ἀθεό-  
 τατον καὶ ὀμότατον συκοφαντοῦ-  
 σιν, πασῶν σαρκῶν ἀνθρωπί-  
 ών ἐφάπτεσθαι ἡμᾶς.

<sup>15</sup> non sacro quodam sed piaculo

CAP.VIII. fœderantur. Latebrosa et lucifugax<sup>16</sup> natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula; <sup>17</sup> templo ut busta despiciunt, <sup>18</sup> deos despunt, rident sacra, miserentur miseri, si fas est, sacerdotum <sup>19</sup> honores et purpas despiciunt ipsi seminudi. Pro mira stultitia et incredibili audacia spernunt tormenta præsentia, dum incerta metuunt et futura: et dum <sup>20</sup> mori post mortem timent, interim mori non timent:

*fœderantur.* Pliny's testimony is the most complete refutation of this charge: "soliti se sacramento non "in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed "ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem falle-rent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent, quibus peractis morem illis "discedendi fuisse, rursusque conve-niendi ad capiendum cibum, pro-miscuum tamen et innoxium."

<sup>16</sup> *natio* is here applied contemporaneously, as in Phœdr. II. *fab.* 5, v. 1: *Est ardellorum quedam Roma natio.* *in publicum muta:* cf. Lactant. VII. 26. 8.

<sup>17</sup> *templo ut busta despiciunt.* The Christians looked upon the heathen temples as charnel-houses, because they looked upon their gods but as dead men: Tertullian, *de Specieac.* c. xiii.; "dum mortui et dii unum sunt, utraque idololatria abstinemus, nec minus templo quam monumenta despiciimus." The Christians themselves did not begin to bury in the body of their churches for some hundreds of years after Constantine. See Cave's *Primitive Christianity*, Pt. III. ch. II. p. 278.

<sup>18</sup> *deos despunt*, h. e. simulacula deorum. V. Origen. *adv. Cels.* Lib. VIII. p. 402.

<sup>19</sup> *honores et purpas despiciunt.* It is clear from Octavius' answer that we must connect *honores* with *purpas*, rather than with the preceding word *sacerdotum*, as is done by some editors. The high offices (*magistratus*) of the Roman state were called *honores*. *Purpura vero magistratum insigne, et ejus usus idololatriæ proprie dicatus, atque vel ex eo colligebat Tertullianus de Idol. c. 18: non licere fideli dignitatis aut potestatis alicujus administrationem gerere.*" HERALDUS.

<sup>20</sup> *mori post mortem:* Apocal. XX. 6: μακάριος δὲ ἔχων μέρος ἐν τῷ θνατᾷ τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπὶ τούτων τὸ θάνατος δὲ δεύτερος οὐκ ἔχει ἀξονίαν: xxi. 8. Comp. Lucian, *de Morte Peregrini*: p. 600: πενεκαστι γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ κακοδαιμονες τὸ μὲν ὅλον θθάνατος ἵσσεθαι, καὶ βιάσσονται τὸν δει χρόνον, παρ' δὲ καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἐκόπτει αὐτοῦ ἐπιδιδόσιν οἱ τολ-λοι.

<sup>21</sup> *ita illius pavorem fallax spes solatia reditiva blanditur.* *Blandiri* hoc loco est, mollire, levare, ut ap. Colum. vii. 5. 16; "blanditur lac caprinum igneum sœvitiam sacri ignis." *Pavor* est metus mortis et tormentorum præsentium. *Solatium redi-*

<sup>2</sup>ita illis pavorem fallax spes solatia rediviva blan- CAP.VIII.  
ditur.

Ac jam, ut fecundius nequiora proveniunt, ser- CAP. IX.  
pentibus in dies perditis moribus, <sup>1</sup>per universum  
orbem sacraria ista teterrima impiae coitionis ado-  
2 lescent. Eruenda prorsus hæc, et exsecranda con-  
sensio, <sup>2</sup>Occultis se notis et insignibus noscunt, et Various  
stories are  
told of them,  
and the ob-  
amant mutuo pæne antequam noverint: <sup>3</sup>passim

vivum est, quale a redivivis speratur  
in altera vita. Sensus ergo est: mi-  
tigat timorem mortis et tor-  
mentorum præsentium spes  
illa fallax fore ut aliquando  
reviviscant. LINDNER, who reads *sola*  
*tio redivivo* against MS. authority.  
Davies suggests *pavore* and explains  
thus; *ita fallax spes illis solatia*  
*blanditur, ob pavorem, quem pate-*  
*faciunt, dum mori post mortem ti-*  
*ment.* After all the various methods  
proposed for taking this passage,  
perhaps it may be safe to conjecture  
that *solatia rediviva* is to be  
taken in apposition with *spes*: we  
may then translate, "thus does the  
delusive hope, the consolation of a  
fancied revival, assuage their  
fears."

Ch. IX. <sup>1</sup> per universum or-  
bem. Quod hic hostis fatetur, ad  
idem hostes Arnobius vocat, *adv.*  
*Nation.* Lib. i. p. 33. (c. 54): "Si  
falsa inquit, ut dicitis, historia illa  
rerum est, unde tam brevi tempore  
totus mundus ista religione comple-  
tus est? aut in unam coire qui po-  
tuerunt mentem gentes regionibus  
dissitæ, ventis coeli convectionibusque  
dimotæ?" CELLAR. cf. Plin, Lib. x.  
*Ep.* 97.9: Tacit, *Ann.* xv. 44. *Sacra-*  
*rium* properly is, "locus ubi sacra  
reponuntur," here it is applied to the

place in which the Christians met to  
pray; *adolescent*, lit. "are attaining  
to their full growth:" cf. Tac. *Hist.*  
III. 34: "Cremona numero colo-  
norum...annexu connubisque gen-  
tium adolevit." The word *coire*  
is peculiarly applied to factious and  
unlawful combinations: Herald. ad  
Tertull. *Apol.* p. 152.37; *de Fug. in*  
*Persecut.* c. 12: see Kaye's *Eccles.*  
*Hist.* ch. ii: Neander's *Ch. Hist.*  
Vol. I. § i. 3. Religious associations  
constantly awakened suspicion, be-  
ing considered to serve merely as a  
cover for political plots and con-  
spiracies: at night they were ex-  
pressly forbidden under pain of  
death: *Tab.* ix. *leg.* vi: *SEI QUI*  
*ENDO URBE COITUS NOCTURNOS*  
*AGITASIT, CAPITAL ESTOD.*

<sup>2</sup> *occultis se notis noscunt*; ac-  
cording to ch. 31, § 9, *notacula*  
*corporis*: the Carpocratians, we  
learn from the translator of Ireneus,  
I. 24, did actually mark themselves  
on the ear. V. Dodwell. *Dissert.*  
*Cyprian.* II. § ii.

<sup>3</sup> *passim etiam inter eos etc.*:  
“their religion too is a mere med-  
ley of lust.” “*Religio libidinum*,”  
says Lindner, “sunt conventus, in  
quibus sub nomine religionis ex-  
ercendæ libidines explent.”

CAP. IX. etiam inter eos quædam libidinum religio miscetur: ac <sup>4</sup>se promisce appellant fratres, et sorores, ut etiam <sup>5</sup>non insolens stuprum intercessione sacri nominis fiat incestum. Ita eorum <sup>6</sup>vana et demens superstitione sceleribus gloriatur. Nec de ipsis, nisi subsisteret veritas, <sup>7</sup>maxima et varia et honore præfanda sagax fama loqueretur. Audio eos turpis-

*jects of their  
worship,  
which must  
be founded  
in truth, as is  
shown by the  
affected  
secrecy of  
their corrupt  
religion.*  
IX. 2.—X. 1.

<sup>4</sup> se promise appellant fratres et sorores: v. Balduin. *dis-*  
*sert.* § xxi. How grossly the love and charity of the early Christians was misinterpreted, and their expressions of affection misconstrued, may be seen from Tertullian *Apologet.* c. xxix.: sed et quod fratres nos vocamus... infamant: and Luvian, *de mort. Peregr.* c. 11—16; ἐπειτα δὲ δο νομοθέτης ὁ πρότος ἐπεισεν αὐτὸν, ὡς ἀδελφοι πάντες εἰεν ἀλλήλων, ἐπειδὰν ἄπαξ παραβάντες θεοὺς μὲν τὸν Ἑλληνίκους δικαιρήσωσατ, τὸν δὲ διεσκολοπισμένον ἀκείνους σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀκείνους νόμους βιώσι. Cf. Athenag. *Leg. pro Christ.* cap. 28. "Mendacium ex eo natum," says Davies, quod apud veteres haec erant nequitiae verba. Vide Petronii *Satir.* cum alibi, cum cap. 9 et 11, Lips. *Var. Lect.* ii. 1; Martial, *Lib.* ii. *Ep.* 4. Fratrem te vocat et soror vocatur, Cur vos nomina nequiora tangunt?

<sup>5</sup> non insolens stuprum: "simple fornication, an ordinary occurrence amongst them." Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* Lib. III. §. 4: φασκόντων ὡς κοινὸς ἀπάντων οὖσας τὰς γυναικας ημῶν, καὶ διαφόρῳ μῆξει ξυνόντας. Vide Cave, *Prim. Christ.* Part. II. ch. v. p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> vana et demens superstitione. Christiana religio a gentilibus dice-

batur *superstitione*, quoniam novos sibi ritus assumebant. Justinus *Apol.* I. c. 60: πρὸ ἑτῶν ἑκατὸν πεντάκοντα γεγενῆσθαι τὸν χριστόν, ubi interpres conferendi. Atqui *superstitiones* vocabant tales, Lactantius IV. 28, 14. Eadem dicitur *vana*, ut pote non suffulta antiquitate, (Virgil. *Æn.* VIII. v. 187:

*Vana superstitione veterumque ignara deorum,*

neo certis rationibus subnixa; sed frivolis tantum et inanibus persuasionibus. *Demens* denique, quod cruciari atque interfici mallent, quam tura tribus digitis comprehensa in focum jactare, Lactantius V. xviii. 12. LINDNER. *ex Heraldo.* Neander *Ch. Hist.* I. § 1.3.

<sup>7</sup> maxima et varia h. e. multa et multorum generum. Most Edd. have adopted Ursinus' conjecture *maxime nefaria*. *Honore præfanda* is explained by Arnob. *adv. Nat.* v. 27: 'quas inter aures castas sine venia nefas est ac sine honoribus appellare præfat is:' cf. Quintilian *Declam.* III. tuis honoris sit habitus sanctissimis auribus. The true meaning of the word *sagax* is given in Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* c. 31: sagire sentire acute est; ex quo sagax, quia multa scire volunt, et *sagaces* dicti canes.

<sup>8</sup> *caput asini—venerari*: "Many of the conjectures of studious

simæ pecudis <sup>8</sup>caput asini consecratum inepta CAP. IX.  
nescio qua persuasione venerari: digna et nata  
religio talibus moribus. Alii eos ferunt ipsius an-  
tistitis ac <sup>9</sup>sacerdotis colere genitalia, et quasi paren-  
tis sui adorare naturam. Nescio an falsa, certe  
occultis ac nocturnis sacris apposita suspicio. Et  
qui <sup>10</sup>hominem summo supplicio pro facinore puni-

men," remarks Lord Hailes, "concerning the origin of this fable are no less absurd than the fable itself. "It is plain that, for some time, the "Christian Apologists knew not "how to account for it. To Celsus, "that eminent foe of Christianity, we "are indebted for the discovery of "the origin of a tale, at which Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 16, could only "guess. Vide Origen. c. *Cels.* lib. vi. "p. 295. Celsus mentions a *scheme* or "plan, which he had seen, containing delineations of seven celestial "intelligences, under the form of "animals. He says, 'That the seventh had the countenance of an "ass and was called Thaphabaoth "or Onoel.' (δόνοι ἔχειν πρόσωπον "καὶ δυομάζεσθαι αὐτὸν Θαφαβάθ "ἢ Ὀνόηλ). And he confidently asserts, that the Christians worshipped those intelligences or spirits, and particularly one named "Thaphabaoth, under the form of an ass." Origen traces the plan to the mystical jargon of certain men named Ophiani, who were confounded, wilfully or ignorantly, with the professors of Christianity. Vide Cave, *Prim. Chr.* Pt. I. ch. v. pp. 119, 120. *Talibus moribus.* Est enim asinus animal et patientissimum et salacissimum Phœdr. III. Fab. 20. LINDNER. *Nescio qua persuasione.* The word *persuasio* like

*præsumptio* (Tertull. *Apol.* cap. 49; *de testim. anim.* cap. 4: Apulej. *Metamorph.* ix. cap. 14) is said of a "decision resting on insufficient grounds, and without due information;" it was commonly by the heathen applied to the Christian religion and particularly to their doctrine of the resurrection. So *πρόληψις* is used, Justin M. *Apolog.* II. 6

<sup>9</sup> *sacerdotis colere genitalia.* This contemptible scandal took its rise most probably from the posture in which penitents were wont to kneel before the bishop: Cave, *Prim. Ch.* Pt. 3, ch. v. Tertull. *de Penit.* cap. ix. Hence the expressions, *advolvi presbyteris*, and *volutando caligas fratrum detergere*, and *caris Dei adgeniculari*. *Naturam* pro pudendis habet Apuleius *Metam.* Lib. III. c. 24; Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. III. cap. 22: *de Divin.* Lib. II. cap. 70.

<sup>10</sup> *hominem summo supplicio puniendum.* Vide Balduin *Dissert.* § xvii. Cf. Tac. *Annal.* xv. 44; Arnob. *adv. Gent.* Lib. I. cap. 20; Idcirco dii vobis infesti sunt, quod hominem natum et quod personis infame est vilibus crucis supplicio interemptum Deum fuisse contenditis; et cap. 40; Lactantius *Div. Inst.* Lib. IV. cap. 26, § 29; cur, si Deus fuit et mori voluit, (dicat fortasse aliquis), non

CAP. IX. tum, et crucis ligna feralia eorum ceremonias fabulatur, <sup>11</sup>congruentia perditis sceleratisque tribuit altaria, ut id colant quod merentur.

Jam <sup>12</sup>de initiandis tirunculis fabula tam detes- 6 tanda, quam nota est. Infans farre contectus, ut decipiat incautos, apponitur ei qui sacris imbuatur. Is infans a tirunculo, farris superficie <sup>13</sup>quasi ad in- 7 noxios ictus provocato, cæcis occultisque vulneribus occiditur: hujus, proh nefas! sitienter sanguinem lambunt, hujus certatim membra dispergiunt, hac

saltem honesto aliquo mortis genere affectus est? cur potissimum cruce? cur in fami genere supplicii? quod etiam homine libero, quamvis nocente, videatur indignum. Cf. cap. 16, 1; 30, 1. *Ceremonias fabulatur, sc. esse; cf. infra cap. xii, § 4: jam non adorandas sed subeundas crucis.*

<sup>11</sup> *congruentia tribuit altaria: id est, patibula et crues, quas colant, et in quas, ex merito, tanquam sceletari tollantur. CELIAE.*

<sup>12</sup> *de initiandis tirunculis.* “Columnia ortum dedisse videtur eucharistia, quam in rem insignis est locus inter Irenæi *Fragm.* p. 469, ed. Oxon.; *Χριστιανῶν γάρ κατηχουμένων δούλους* “Ελλῆνες συλλαβόντες, ἐπειδὴ μαθεῖν τι παρὰ τούτων δῆθεν ἀπόρρητον περὶ Χριστιανῶν διαγκάζοντες, οἱ δοῦλοι οὐτοὶ μὴ ἔχοντες πῶς τὸ τοῖς διαγκάζουσι καθ' ἥδοντιν ἐρεῖν, πάροστον ἦκουον τῶν δεσποτῶν τὴν θείαν μετάληψιν αἷμα καὶ σάρκα εἶναι Χριστοῦ, αὐτοὶ νομίζοντες τῷ ὄντι αἷμα καὶ σάρκα εἶναι τοῦτο δέξιον τοῖς ἀκηγοῦσι. Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες αἱ αὐτοχρῆμα τοῦτο τελεῖσθαι Χριστιανοῖς, καὶ δὴ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀλλοῖς

“Ελλῆσιν δέξεπομπεον.” DAVIES. Vide Balduin. *dissert.* § xxii.: F. M. *Notes on the Gospel and Acts*; Vol. i. p. 64: Cave, *Primit. Christian.* Part II. ch. iv. p. 78. The charge of *ἀνθρωποβορία* and Θνέστερα δέητα, monstrous and incredible as it seems, is mentioned by most of the Apologists; Athenagoras *legat. pro Christ.* p. 94, cap. xxvii.; Theophilus *ad Autol.* lib. III. § 4; Tertian. *Orat. ad Græc.* § 26; Justin. *M. Apolog.* 1, c. 26; *Dialog. contra Tryph.* p. 227; “Mr Gibbon, Vol. i. p. 631,” remarks Lord Hailes, “has refuted this charge, and many others of a like nature with much eloquence and energy of reasoning. In few and forcible words he has comprehended what the Christian Apologists either said, or might have said on the subject.” But he takes exception to the historian’s assertion that the Christian Apologists in attributing to various sects of heretics the same bloody sacrifices, which were so falsely ascribed to the orthodox believers, betrayed the common cause of religion. He says that Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, whom Gibbon quotes

federantur hostia, hac conscientia sceleris <sup>14</sup>ad CAP. IX.  
 8 silentium mutuum pignerantur. Hæc sacra sacri-  
 legiis omnibus tetriora.

Et <sup>15</sup>de convivio notum est: passim omnes lo-  
 quuntur: id etiam Cirtensis nostri testatur oratio.  
 Ad epulas solemni die coeunt, <sup>16</sup>cum omnibus, liberis,  
 sororibus, matribus, sexus omnis homines, et omnis  
 9 ætatis. Illic post multas epulas, ubi convivium  
 caluit et <sup>17</sup>incestæ libidinis, ebrietatis fervor exarsit,  
 canis qui candelabro nexus est, jactu offulæ ultra

in support of his assertion, merely mention the report; that Eusebius certainly does aver it of the Gnostics, but that his testimony of itself, is much too frail to support such a statement. Cf. Kortholt. *Pag. Obtr.* p. 162. *seqq.*

<sup>13</sup> *farris superficies etc.* "The infant is murdered by unperceived and unsuspected wounds, dealt by the hand of the novice, who is induced by the covering of meal to prick several holes in it, thinking them harmless."

<sup>14</sup> *ad silentium mutuum pignerantur.* Catiline and his associates, as we are told by Sallust, *Catil.* cap. 22, employed human blood, as "pignus coniurationis, quo inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris consciæ." Thus the Pagans attributed to the Christians practices, which really existed in their own secret societies and mysteries, as is equally evident from the next charge against them, if compared with the expressions of Livy, Lib. xxxix. cap. 13, in his account of the Bacchanalia. See below, Ch. xxx. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *de convivio notum est.* For

M. F.

an account of the Christian *dyáras* see Tertullian, *Apolog.* ch. 39. Pliny, speaking of this custom, testifies that they met "ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium." See Cave, *Prim. Christ.* Part II, ch. v. By *Cirtensis nostri*, who is spoken of subsequently, ch. xxxi, under the name of Fronto, is probably meant Cornelius Fronto, a native of Cirta in Numidia. He is not to be confounded with those named by Juvenal, *Sat.* i. 12; Martial, *Epiigr.* i. 56; Plin. *Ep.* xi. 2: but he is the same who is more than once spoken of by A. Gellius, *Noct. Attic.*, the preceptor of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (vide Eutrop., *Histor. Roman.* Lib. viii. c. 1) and Lucius Verus, Eumenes, *Panegyr.* Constant. 14, calls him, *Romanæ eloquentiae non secundum sed alterum decus*. A great portion of his works, not however the one alluded to by Cæcilius, were discovered, written on a palimpsest in the Ambrosian Library, by Angelo Mai, and published at Milan, A. 1815: q. v. p. 366.

<sup>16</sup> [cum omnibus: fortasse con-  
 jugibus. J. GE.]

<sup>17</sup> *incestæ libidinis, ebrietatis*

CAP. IX. spatium lineæ, qua vinctus est, ad impetum et saltum provocatur: sic everso et extincto conscientia lumine,<sup>18</sup> impudentibus tenebris nexus infandæ cupiditatis involvunt per incertum sortis: et, si non omnes opera, conscientia tamen pariter incesti;<sup>19</sup> quoniam voto universorum appetitur, quidquid accidere potest in actu singulorum.

CAP. X. Multa prætero consulto: nam et hæc nimis multa sunt, quæ aut omnia, aut pleraque omnium

*fervor exarsit.* I see no cause, why the MS. reading should not be received, if we take *ebrietatis, libidinis* as an asyndetous construction; see Ch. i. not. 5. Of the various conjectural readings proposed, perhaps that of Hildebrand (ad *Apulej. Metam.* p. 101) is the simplest and best, viz. *ebriolatis.* Cf. Juv. *Sat.* vi. 814; *ib.* 299:

quid enim Venus ebria curat?

<sup>18</sup> *impudentibus tenebris.* *Impudentes* vocat *tenebras* quod illis pudor exnatur. DAVIES, who quotes Ovid. *Amor.* vi. 59:

Nox et amor, vinumque nihil moderabile suadent.

Illa pudore vacat: Liber amoreque metu.

For an illustration of the whole passage comp. Tertullian. *Apol.* cap. vii.: "et post convivium incesto, quod eversores luminum canes, lenones scilicet, *tenebrarum et libidinum impiarum* invercundia procurent;" and c. viii., where he exclaims in the bitterest irony, "discubbens dinumerâ loca, ubi mater, ubi soror; nota diligenter, ut cum tenebre ceciderint caninæ, non erres. Piaculum enim admiseris, nisi incestum feceris."

<sup>19</sup> *quoniam voto universorum etc.*: "since whatever may be brought

about by chance in the case of any of them, is wished for and intended by the whole company."

Ch. X. <sup>1</sup> *occultare*, "to prevent any thing being seen, by keeping it covered"; *abscondere*, "by removing the thing itself." Döderlein, *Synonym.* p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *cur nullas aras habent, tempora nulla?* We find the same reproach urged against the Christians by Celsus, ap. Origen. Lib. VIII. § 17, p. 389; μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ Κέλσος φησίν ημᾶς βωμοὺς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νεώς ιδρύσθαι φεγγεῖν ἐτελ τὸ πιστόν ήμῖν ἀφανῶνται καὶ πτορρήτους κοινωνίας οἰεται εἰναὶ ξύνθηται; and by a later apologist, Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* vi. 1. But it is certain that though the Christians held their assemblies in private houses (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. xvi. 19, 20), yet as early as the close of the second century we find mention of buildings specially set apart for worship, cf. Tertullian *de Idolatr.* ch. vii. Cæcilius therefore must be understood to say that they had no temples, according to the heathen notion of a temple, a cloister of deities represented by statues, (Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.* Part i. ch. i.; August. *de Civ. Dei*, vii. 33;

vera declarat ipsius pravæ religionis obscuritas. CAP. X.  
 2 Cur etenim occultare et abscondere quidquid illud colunt magnopere nituntur, quum honesta semper publico gaudeant, scelera secreta sint? <sup>2</sup> cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra, numquam palam loqui, numquam libere congregari, nisi illud quod colunt et interprimunt aut puniens dum est aut pudendum? unde autem, vel quis ille aut ubi deus unicus, <sup>3</sup>solitarius, destitutus;

*Octav. cap. vii. § 8).* Hence it was that they purposely abstained from using the word "temple" for the greater part of the first 300 years, but called their places of divine worship, "Ecclesiam," οἶκοι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, κυριακά, εὐκτήρια, "conventicula." See Cave's *Primitive Christ*. Pt. I. ch. vi. p. 128; Baudouin, *Dissert. c. xv.*; Lindner remarks on this passage; "Adeoque de sacrificio missæ illis temporibus altum silentium!"

*numquam palam loqui.* "Dicebat antea c. viii. § 5; in publicum muta. Nempe quia in locis semotis convenientib;" says Heraldus; "cujus rei rationem reddit Celsus ipse ap. *Origenem* Lib. I. [p. 5]; οὐ μάτην Χριστιανού κρύφα τὰ δρέσκοντα ποιοῦσι. ἄπε διωθόμενοι τὴν ἐπιτρημένην αὐτοῖς δικην τοῦ θανάτου. But Cœcilius appears also to be alluding to the habitual reserve maintained by the Christians (τὸ κρύψιον τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ, *Origen. l. c. p. 7*) concerning the sacraments and mysteries of their religion, on which subject Lactantius, *Divin. Inst. Lib. vii. c. 26*, says; "doctrinam nostram defendere publice atque asserere non solemus, Deo jubente, ut quieti ac solentes arcanum ejus in abdite

atque intra nostram conscientiam teneamus; nec adversus istos vere profanos, qui non discendi, sed arguendi atque illudendi gratia, inclementer DEUM ac religionem ejus impugnant, pertinaci contentione certemus. Abscondi enim tegique mysterium quam fidelissime oportet, maxime a nobis qui nomen fidei gerimus." Compare Origen. l. l. § 7: and see Kortholt, *Paganus Obtrectator*, cap. ix. § 2, p. 58, foll. cap. xvii. p. 149 sqq.; Tzschrner, *Apolog.* p. 220: also Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. i. § i, 3 p. 124, *ed. Bohn.*

<sup>3</sup> *solitarius*: Lactantius, *Div. Inst. I. vii. 4*: tanquam nos, quia unum esse dicimus, desertum ac *solitarius* esse dicamus: where Bünenmann remarks; "Ita Deum singularem contumeliose vocabant. Alia de hac voce *solitarius* contra haereticos habet Hilarius Lib. iv. de *Trinit.* f. 86, sqq." *Non saltem Romana supersticio* neverunt: "not even Roman fanaticism acknowledges." Vide supra, cap. vi. § 4. *Non saltem* = ne — quidem, vide cap. xii. § 1. For the meaning of *supersticio*, see Ch. ix. note 6; and compare the remarks of Neander, *Church Hist.* Vol. i. § i 3 p. 122, foll. *ed. Bohn.*

CAP. X. quem non gens libera, non regna, non saltem Romana superstitione neverunt? <sup>4</sup>Judæorum sola et <sup>4</sup>misera gentilitas unum et ipsi deum, sed palam, sed templis, aris, victimis, cæremoniisque coluerunt: cuius adeo nulla vis nec potestas est, ut sit <sup>5</sup>Romanis hominibus cum sua sibi natione captivus.

*As for their god, what strange and extravagant theories do they invent about his Being and Attributes!*

<sup>6</sup>At etiam Christiani, quanta monstrâ, quæ portenta configunt? Deum illum suum, quem <sup>7</sup>nec ostendere possunt nec videre, <sup>8</sup>in omnium mores, actus omnium, verba denique et occultas cogitationes diligenter inquirere, discurrentem scilicet atque

<sup>4</sup> *Judeorum gentilitas: gentilitas* hoc in loco gentem denotat. Tertullianus *de anima* c. 30. DAVIES. So *humanitas* is used for "humanum genus," Ch. viii. § 2; xxvi. § 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Romanis hominibus.* The MS. reading *nominibus* seems to be in favour of the reading *numinibus*, for it appears that in many passages of Arnobius in the same MS. the transcriber has made the same mistake of writing *nomen* for *numen*. But *hominibus* gives more point to the sentence, being more sarcastical and insulting. [Captivus: ita loquebantur de suis, Liv. III. cap. 17. J. GR.]

<sup>6</sup> *At etiam Christiani, quanta monstrâ.* The MS. reading is, as I can testify from personal examination, *ac etiam Christiani quantâ nrâ,* only *quantâ* has been altered *a manu sec.* into *quam tâ.* For the first word, I think, we ought to read *at*, which all Editors have hitherto wrongly assigned to the MS.: on the confusion of the two particles, see Hand, *Tursell.* i. p. 450 and p. 502: and for the meaning of *at etiam*, the Index, *s. v. at.* As to the two

last words, they are plainly an abbreviation of *quantam nostram*: but since these words, as they stand, admit of no possible interpretation: the question is, what is the most probable conjectural emendation of them. Rigalt's is too harsh Latin, else it yields a plausible sense: he proposes to read *qua in tam nostra*, i.e. *qua sunt in P. R. provincias, in tam nostra diffusi:* Others propose, *quænam monstrâ, quam tam naturam, or qua contra naturam*: but the reading which I have given is a nearer approximation to that of the MS. than any other, and at the same time it is the most suited to the context.

<sup>7</sup> *nec ostendere.* Postulatum ethnicorum de Christianis. Augustinus in *Psalm.* xli. fol. 255; "Si paganus mihi dicere: ubi est deus tuus? Nonne illi et ego possum dicere: ubi est deus tuus? Denum quippe suum digito ostendit. Intentit enim digitum ad aliquem lapidem et dicit: Ecce ibi est deus; invenit ille, quod ostenderet oculis carnis; ego autem non, quasi non habeo, quem ostendam; sed non

ubique præsentem : molestum illum volunt, inquietum, impudenter etiam curiosum : siquidem adstat factis omnibus, locis omnibus intererrat : quum nec singulis inservire possit <sup>9</sup>per universa districtus, nec universis sufficere in singulis occupatus.

7 Quid ? quod <sup>10</sup>toto orbi et ipsi mundo cum sideribus suis minantur incendium, ruinam moliuntur? quasi aut naturæ divinis legibus constitutus æternus ordo turbetur; aut rupto elementorum omnium fœdere et cœlesti compage divisa moles ista, <sup>Then again, they look for the destruction of the universe by fire!</sup> <sup>11</sup>qua continetur et cingitur, subruatur. Nec hac CAP. XI.

habet ille oculos quibus ostendam." LINDNER. Cf. Lactant. *de Orig. Err.* cap. VI. § 3: "nullam religionem putant, ubicumque simulacula non fulserint;" Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* I. § 1. p. 5: infra ch. xxxii. § 4: Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 98.

<sup>8</sup> in omnium mores etc. Cæcilius here relapses into his Epicurean sentiments (v. ch. vii.) and so ridicules the notion of Divine government. The whole passage is imitated from Cicero *de Nat. Deor.*, where Velleius says ironically: "Itaque imposuitis cervicibus nostris sempiternum Dominum, quem dies et noctes timerimus; quis enim non timeat omnia providentem...curiosum et plenum negotii Deum." Comp. Tertullian *de testim. animæ*, cap. 2. *Actus* is for actiones, as in Ch. xxxii. § 7; Ch. xxxvi. § 1. [*Inquirere*; v. cap. xxxii. § 9, ubi egregie rejicit hoc verbum et aliud supponit, sc. in terrest. s. gr.]

<sup>9</sup> per universa districtus. MS. *destructus*. The notion of *stringo* is "to hold fast:" and he is said to be *districtus*, who is so held by several things, as to be unable to turn one.

way or the other. See Long on Cicero, *Orat. Verr.* p. 59.

<sup>10</sup> *toto*, for *toti*. So Propert. *Eleg.* III. 9. 57. *Minantur incendium*, i. e. prædicunt; cf. Burm. ad *Phædr.* IV. fab. 22. Quod quemadmodum verum est de Christianis, conf. Lactantius, VII. 14—20; ita non minus de gentilibus. Ovidius *Metam.* I. 256, de Jove:

*Esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur, affore tempus,  
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia  
celli  
Ardeat, et mundi moles operosa laboret.*

LINDNER.

[The Stoics, Cicer. *Acad. Quest.* IV. 38, believed in a general conflagration, only κατὰ καιρὸν οὐτε εἰσάπαξ; Tatian, *Or. ad Gr.* c. 25. § 6.] Basil. *Hexaem. Homil.* I.; οἱ δὲ καὶ πλάτυν γέλωτα καταχέοντιν ἡμᾶς περὶ συντελεῖαν τοῦ αἰώνος τούτου, καὶ παλιγγενεῖαν αἰώνος αἰτεγγελλόντων. HERALDUS.

<sup>11</sup> *qua* continetur et cingitur. Ita MS.: continetur ea mole totus orbis et ipse mundus: Davis. *qua* continetur et cingitur, sc. aëre. Meurs. *qua* continetur et cingimur,

CAP. XI. furiosa opinione contenti aniles fabulas adstruunt et adnectunt. <sup>1</sup> Renasci se ferunt post mortem et cineres et favillas: et nescio qua fiducia mendaciis suis invicem credunt: putes eos jam revixisse. <sup>2</sup> Anceps malum et gemina dementia! cōelo et astris, quæ sic relinquimus ut invenimus, interitum denunciare: sibi <sup>3</sup> mortuis, extinctis, qui sicut nascimur, et interimus, æternitatem repromittere. <sup>3</sup> Inde <sup>3</sup> videlicet et execrabantur rogos, et damnant ignium sepulturas: quasi non omne corpus, etsi flammis

*And not satisfied with this extravagant conceit, they pretend that they shall rise again to life, after death; and promise themselves an eternity of happiness as a reward for their virtue, others of misery, as a punishment for their unrighteousness.*

non male. Tertull. *Apolog.* c. xvii. LINDNER. (adde Arnob. *adv. Nat.* i. 2, machine hujus et molis, qua universi tegimur et continemur inclusi).

Ch. XI. <sup>1</sup> *Renasci se ferunt post mortem et cineres et favillas.* [Combusisti sc. ex sententia judicis. *J. Cr.*] “They pretend that after death, “after their bodies have been reduced to cinders and ashes, they are born again; and with unaccountable assurance they credit each other in their own impositions.” So Lucian, *Peregr.* p. 600; πεπεικαστοί έαντοις οἱ κακοδαιμονοί τὸ μὲν δόλον άθηνατοί ἔτεσθαι καὶ βιώσσεσθαι τὸν δει χρόνον; and Origen *adv. Cels. Lib.* i. p. 7, speaks of τὸ τῆς άναστάσεως μυστήριον as γελώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων. For the resurrection of the body, and consequently the identity of man in a future state, the *fiducia Christianorum*, (*Tertullian. de resurrect. carnis* i.) was a notion so strange to the heathen, that it seemed absolutely impossible: see the passages quoted by Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. XI. note p. 691 *Cambr. Ed.* The following passage from

Origen, will serve admirably to shew the objections with which this doctrine was assailed: ‘Ηλίθιος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ νομίζειν, ἐπειδὰς ὁ Θεὸς ὥσπερ μάγειρος ἐπενέγκη τὸ πῦρ, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πᾶν ἔξοπτηθήσεσθαι γένος· αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους διαμενεῖν, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ζῶντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάλαι πότε ἀποθανόντας, ανταῖς σαρκὶς ἐκειναῖς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀναδύντας, ἀπεχνῶς σκωλήκων ἡ ἀλπίς. ποίᾳ γάρ ἀνθράπον ψυχὴ ποιήσειν ἔτι σῶμα σεσηπτός; (ὅπότε μήδ' ὑμὲν τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα καὶ τὸν Χριστιανὸν ἐνίοις κοινὸν ἔστιν· καὶ τὸ σφέδρα παρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπόπτυστον ἄμα καὶ ἀδόρατον ἀποφαίνουσιν) ποίον γάρ σῶμα πάτητη διαφθαρὲν οἴον τε ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φύσιν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐξ ἡς ἐλόθη τὴν πράτην σύστασιν; οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἀποκρίνασθαι καταφεύγουσιν εἰς ἀποπτάτην ἀναχώρησιν, ὅτι πᾶν δύνατον τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλ' οὐτὶ γε τὰ αἰσχρὰ ὁ Θεὸς δύναται οὐδὲ τὰ παρὰ φύσιν βούλεται· οὐδέ, ἀν σύ τι ἐπιθυμήσῃς κατὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ μοχθηρὰν βθελυρδν, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦτο δυνήσεται, καὶ χρῆ πιστεύειν εἴθες, δτι ἔσται. οὐ γάρ τῆς πλημμελοῦς

subtrahatur, <sup>4</sup>annis tamen et statibus in terram CAP. XI.  
resolvatur; nec intersit, <sup>5</sup>utrum feræ diripient, an  
maria consumant, an humus contecat, an flamma  
subducat; quum cadaveribus <sup>6</sup>omnis sepultura, si  
sentiunt, pœna sit: si non sentiunt, ipsa conficiendi  
<sup>4</sup> celeritate medicina. Hoc errore decepti beatam  
sibi ut bonis et perpetem vitam mortuis pollicen-  
tur; ceteris ut injustis pœnam sempiternam.

<sup>5</sup> Multa ad hæc suppetunt, ni festinet oratio. In-  
justos ipsos, <sup>7</sup>magis nec labore, jam docui: quam-  
Similar instances of  
their vagaries  
might be mul-

δρέψεται, οὐδὲ τῆς πεπλανημένης  
ἀκοσμίας, δλλά τῆς δρῆς καὶ δι-  
καλας φύσεως Θεὸς ἐστιν ἀρχηγό-  
της' καὶ ψυχῆς μὲν αἰώνιου βιοτὸν  
δένναιτ' ἐν παρασχεῖν' οὐκέτε δέ,  
φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, κοπρίων ἐκ-  
βλητότεροι. σάρκα δή, μεστὴν  
ῶν οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν καλὸν, αἰώνιον ἀπο-  
φῆναι παραλόγως οὐτε βούλησται  
ὁ Θεὸς οὐτε δυνήσεται: contra Cels.  
Lib. v. p. 240. Compare Augustine  
in *Psalm.* lxxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> mortuis, extinctis. See note on  
ch. iv. § 7. Repromittere is equivalent  
to the simple "promittere."

<sup>3</sup> inde videlicet. Ironice, ut  
Lactantius, i. iv. 2: Videlicet  
quia de uno Deo praeconium faciunt  
aut insani aut fallaces fuerunt. LIND-  
NER. *Exercantur rogos:* See, how-  
ever, Grotius, *de J. B.* cap. xix. § 2. 3.  
The reason why the heathens burnt  
the bodies of the Christian martyrs  
was to deprive them of the hope of  
a resurrection. See the letter from  
the Churches at Vienne and Lyons,  
ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v.  
cap. i.: Neander, *Ch. Hist.* i. p.  
158.

<sup>4</sup> annis et statibus, i. e. cum  
annis et statibus. *In terram resol-*

*vatur:* Gronovius reads *auram*:  
but needlessly, see the passages  
quoted in Grotius *de Jure Belli*,  
cap. xix. § 2. 2. The force of the  
negative before *intersit* is cancelled  
by the preceding, *quasi non*.

<sup>5</sup> utrum feræ diripient: velut  
apud Hyrcanos, de quibus Justinus  
41, 3, 5: "Sepultura vulgo aut  
avium aut canum laniatus est."  
Le Nourry, *Appar.* cap. ii. *Art.* vi.  
says that this is an imitation of  
Seneca: "ille divinus animus eges-  
surus hominem quo receptaculum  
suum conferatur, ignis illud exurat;  
an feræ distrahant, an terra conte-  
cat, non magis ad se judicat per-  
tinere, quam secundas ad editum  
infantem." *Epist.* xcii.

<sup>6</sup> omnis sepultura. *Sepultura* hic  
opponitur conditura cadaverum per  
aromata et unguenta. *Pœna*, pro  
cruciato, malo. LINDNER. Translate:  
"If they have any sensation, inter-  
ment of any sort is painful; and if  
they have none, it is salutary (i. e.  
to the living), simply because it  
despatches the bodies the soonest."

<sup>7</sup> magis nec labore, sc. docere:  
"I have already proved (and I be-  
stow no farther pains to prove) that

CAP. XI. quam etsi justos darem, culpam tamen vel innocentiam fato tribui sententiis plurimorum et hæc vestra consensio est: nam quidquid agimus, ut alii 6 fato, ita vos <sup>8</sup>deo dicitis: <sup>9</sup>sic sectæ vestræ non spontaneos cupere sed electos. Igitur iniquum judicem fingitis, qui sortem in hominibus puniat, non voluntatem.

*tiplied, but I am content with having proved them unrighteous: and, even conceding the contrary, yet on their own showing, virtue and vice depend, not on the will of the agent, but on destiny.*

*However I am curious to know, what is the nature of your ideal resurrection.*

Vellem tamen sciscitari, utrumne sine corpore, <sup>7</sup> an cum corporibus? et corporibus quibus, <sup>10</sup>ipsisne an innovatis resurgatur? Sine corpore? <sup>11</sup>Hoc, quod sciam, neque mens neque anima nec vita est. Ipso corpore? Sed jam ante dilapsum est. Alio corpore? Ergo homo novus nascitur, non prior ille reparatur.

they (*and not we*) are the wicked.” Further on, *sententiis* is to be construed with *consensio*.

<sup>8</sup> *deo dicitis*, for “addicitis;” “you ascribe to your god.” So Cicero *pro Flacco*: *doti omnem pecuniam dixerat*; Plautus *Aulul.* ix. 4, 14: *nempe huic dimidium dicit*.

<sup>9</sup> *sic sectæ vestræ non spontaneos cupere*, sc. homines. *Cupere alicui, and velle alicui* are used in good classical authors for *favere*: Cicero, *Epist. Fam.* II. 15; Cæsari honestissime *cupies*; Cæsar *Bell. Gall.* Lib. I. c. 18; *favere et cupere* Helvetiis; Terent. *Andr.* Act V. Sc. iv. 2; *cupere* Glycerio. See a note of Salmasius on Tertullian *de Pallio* cap. i: Romanis deus maliuit.

<sup>10</sup> *ipsisme*, i. e. iisdem. Cæcilius here puts the question just as we find it put in St Paul’s time, 1 Cor. xv. 35: *ἀλλ’ ἐρεῖ τις· κῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροὶ καὶ ποιῶσι σώματα ἔρχονται;*

<sup>11</sup> *Hoc* (i. e. *sine corpore resurgere*) *neque mens neque anima nec vita est*. Sic loquitur quia nihil animo potuit concipere, quod non erat corporatum. Eodem modo Velleius apud Ciceronem Lib. I. *Nat. Deor.* c. xii.: “Quod vero *sine corpore* ullo Deum vult esse ut Græci dicunt *δευμάτων*, id quale esse possit, intelligi non potest: caret enim sensu necesse est, caret etiam prudenter, caret voluptate;” et cap. xiii. DAVIES.

<sup>12</sup> *et tamen tanta actas abiit.* For this use of *et tamen* compare ch. 36, § 7; ch. 37, § 2. We find this second argument of Cæcilius against the resurrection of the body mentioned in several of the Apologists: e. g. Justin. M. *Apolog.* II. p. 65: *διὰ τὸ μῆτρα ἐμφακέναι ὑμᾶς ἀναστάντα νεκρόν, ἀπιστίᾳ ἔχει:* Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* I. 18; *δλλὰ καὶ τὸ δρυεῖσθαι σε νεκρὸς ἐγείρεσθαι*: φήσι γάρ, δεῖξόν μοι κανὸν ἔνα ἐγερθέντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, Iva lōdās πιστεύσω. Lactantius, *Div.*

8 <sup>12</sup>Et tamen tanta ætas abiit, secula innumera fluxerunt, quis unus ullus ab inferis vel <sup>13</sup>Protesilai sorte remeavit, horarum saltem permisso commeatu, 9 vel ut exemplo crederemus? Omnia ista figmenta malesanæ opinionis, et inepta solatia a poetis fallacibus in dulcedine carminis lusa, a vobis <sup>14</sup>nimirum credulis in deum vestrum turpiter reformata sunt.

<sup>1</sup>Nec saltem de præsentibus capitib[us] experimen-tum, quam vos irritæ pollicitationis cassa vota de-cipient: quid post mortem impendeat, miseri dum 2 adhuc vivitis æstimate. Ecce pars vestrum et ma-jor, melior, ut dicitis, egetis, algetis, ope, re, fame,

*Inst. vii. 22, 10, copies Minucius' language; Nobis illud opponitur... tot jam secula transierunt: quis unquam unus ab inferis resurrexerit, ut exemplo ejus fieri posse credamus? Horarum saltem: sc. aliquot. Intelligit autem tres horas. Ellipsis Justino imprimis familiaris Lib. v. 5.4: xxxviii. 1.6: xxxix. 2.6. LINDNER. *Commeatus* properly im-plies the *actus* or *copia meandi*. It is then used for *quicquid commeat* e.g. for a 'convoy.' In its sense of *meandi copia* it came to mean leave of absence granted to a soldier, and thus generally an 'extension of a limited time.' WOODHAM, *Tertull.* p. 114. By the early Christians, who adopted several military terms into the phraseology of the church, e.g. "sacramentum," "symbolum," "sta-tiones:" (NEANDER, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 425), the word was used to signify "respite from danger whether of persecution or pestilence or death." *Vel ut exemplo*, for *ut vel*, "that we might have only the guarantee of an in-*

stance (putting other considerations out of the question) to confirm our belief." See note, Ch. xxviii. § 8.

<sup>13</sup> *Protesilai sorte*. See Index I. s.v.

<sup>14</sup> *nimirum credulis*. "All these creations of a crazed fancy have been clumsily reshaped by you, so simple indeed is your faith, and fathered on your God." *Nimirum* is evidently here used ironically, Hand, *Turcell.* Vol. iv. p. 206. *Credulis* is a sneer on the Christian name of "οἱ πιστεύοντες," "fidei-les," qui nomen fidei geritis, Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* Lib. vii. c. 26. See the passages quoted by KOR-tholt, *Pagan. Obrect.* cap. xi. p. 86, sqq.; Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. i. pp. 97, 227. *In dulcedine carminis*. In marks the instrument. See Index s.v.

Ch. XII. <sup>1</sup> *Nec saltem*, i.e. et ne—quidem, as above, ch. 10. § 3, see the Index, a. v. *saltem*.

*Ope, re laboratis*. *Ope laborare* est "inopem ease"; *re laborare* est "re familiari carere."

CAP. XI.

CAP. XII.

Your experi-  
ence of the  
present ought  
to disenchant  
you of your  
van and de-  
lusive hopes  
of the future.

**CAP. XII.** laboratis: <sup>2</sup>et Deus patitur, dissimulat; non vult aut non potest opitulari suis: ita aut invalidus aut iniquus est. Tu qui immortalitatem postumam <sup>3</sup>somnias, quum <sup>3</sup>periculo quateris, quum febribus ureris, quum dolore laceraris, nondum conditionem tuam sentis? nondum agnoscis fragilitatem? invitus miser infirmitatis argueris nec fateris? Sed <sup>4</sup>omitto communia: ecce vobis minæ, supplicia, tormenta, <sup>4</sup>et jam non adorandæ, sed subeundæ cruces: ignes etiam, quos et prædictis et timetis: ubi

<sup>2</sup> et Deus patitur. Et is for et tamen, as frequently. Comp. below, Ch. xxvi. § 1; xxviii. 8; xxxv. 6, and see Buenem. *Lactant.* III. xi. 8. Hand, *Tursell.* Vol. ii. p. 496. The objection here put was constantly in the mouth of the heathen: compare Lactantius, *de Justit.* cap. xxi. § 7: "Cur ergo Deus Ille singularis, ille magnus, haec fieri patitur, nec cultores suos aut vindicat aut tuetur?" Tertullian. *Apolog.* c. xli.: "siquidem et Deus vester patiatur propter profanos etiam cultores suos laedi;" Arnobius *adv. nat.* II. 76; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 2; *Dem. Evang.* x. 8; Clemens Alex- andr. *Stromm.* IV. p. 504, εἰ κύδεται ὑμῶν δὲ θέσις, τί δήγοτε διάκεσθε καὶ φονεύεσθε; ή αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς τοῦτο ἐκδίδωσι; Augustin. *de Civ. Dei.* I. 29.

<sup>3</sup> periculo: Ita MS. Many editors however have introduced into their text the reading *querquero*, "ague," as Festus s. v. explains it, "febrem frigidam et cum horrore trementem." *Querquera* occurs in Lucilius, and Arnobius *adv. Nat.* I. 48; *querquerum* in Apul. *Apol.* c. 85. For the sense of *miser* see xxvii. note 20.

<sup>4</sup> et jam non: so below, cap. xxi.

§ 12: haec jam non sunt sacra: tor- menta sunt. v. Hand, *Tursell.* Vol. iii. p. 181, seqq. Non adoranda: "crosses destined not to be the ob- ject of your worship any more, but the instrument of your punishment." The allusion is to the σταυρολα- τρεῖα, objected to the Christians, on which see Ch. ix. § 5; xxix. § 7; and comp. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xvi.: qui crucis nos religiosos (i. e. crucis cul- tores) putat: *ad. Nat.* I. cap. 12.

<sup>5</sup> vestrique dominantur. [Tertull. *Apolog.* cap. 26: dominaturi ejus. J. GR.] Horace has the same con- struction, *Od.* III. 30, 2:

primum agrestum

Regnavit populorum;

Vide Bünnemann on Lactant. *de Ira Dei*, cap. xiv. § 3. not. h.

<sup>6</sup> non spectacula visitis. One of the marks of a Christian in the eyes of the heathen was abstinence from the shows. Tertullian *de Spect.* cap. xxiv.: hinc vel maxime intel- ligunt Christianum factum de repudio spectaculorum. Cf. *Apolog.* cap. xxxviii.: spectaculis vestris in tantum renuntiamus, in quantum originibus eorum, quas scimus de superstitione conceptas. Nihil est nobis cum insanis circi,

deus ille, qui subvenire reviviscentibus potest, vi. CAP. XII.  
 5 ventibus non potest? nonne Romani sine vestro  
 deo imperant, regnant, fruuntur orbe toto, <sup>5</sup>vestri-  
 que dominantur? vos vero suspensi interim atque  
 solliciti, honestis voluptatibus abstinetis: <sup>6</sup>non spec-  
 tacula visitis, <sup>7</sup>non pompis interestis; <sup>8</sup>convivia pub-  
 lica absque vobis; sacra certamina, <sup>9</sup>præcerptos ci-  
 6 bos, et delibatos altaribus potus abhorretis. Sic  
 reformidatis deos, quos negatis. <sup>10</sup>Non floribus ca-  
 put nectitis, <sup>11</sup>non corpus odoribus honestatis: re-

'cum impudicitia theatri, cum astro-  
 citate arenas, cum xysti vanitate.' It appears, however, that all Christians were not agreed on the propriety of renouncing theatrical exhibitions: for Tertullian composed his treatise *de Spectaculis* with the view of proving that the habit of frequenting them was inconsistent with the profession of Christianity, inasmuch as they were founded in idolatry, see particularly cap. v. Compare also *adv. Marcion.* Lib. i. cap. xxvii.; *de pudicit.* cap. vii.: Tatian *or. contr. Græc.* p. 96, ed. Otto; Theoph. *ad Astol.* Lib. iii. cap. 15, (p. 178, ed. Humphry); Lactantius *de vero cultu*, cap. xx. § 9.

<sup>7</sup> non pompis interestis, "you are not present in any solemn processions?" because the images of the gods were carried about in them: *de Spectac.* cap. xxiij. Cellarius' remark is: "quibus solemnii formula "in baptismo renuntiaverant. Tertullianus *de Corona* cap. iii.: *Ut a "baptismate ingrediar, aquam adi- "turi, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius "in Ecclesia sub antistitis manu "contestamur nos renunciare diabolo "et pompa et angelis ejus."*"

<sup>8</sup> convivia publica. The public

festivals appointed on the anniversary of the Emperor's accession (*natales*), or at the celebration of a triumph. 'Huic probro egregie respondet Tertullianus *Apolog.* cap. 35;' WOUER. Comp. also cap. xxxix.

<sup>9</sup> præcerptos cibos: *εἰδωλόθυτα*, immolatia, cibos, ex quibus diis pro more erat prælibatum. Tertullianus *de Spectac.* cap. xiii.: *non sacrificamus neque de sacrificato edimus*; quia, qui edebant, ut Ambrosius ait in *1 Corinth.* viii. comm. 7, *cum veneratione simulacri manducabant de sacrificatis.* CELLARIUS. *Delibatos potus*; 'oblations of wine poured upon the altars.'

<sup>10</sup> non floribus caput nectitis: this the primitive Christians refused to do, partly from the wearing of garlands being connected with many heathenish festivals; partly from a notion that this use of flowers was absolutely unnatural. See Tertull. *Apol.* c. xlji., and the tract *de corona militis*, where the argument is carried out; also Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* Lib. II. c. 8: *στεφάνων δὲ ημῖν καὶ μύρων χρῆσις οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα*: *ἔσο- κεῖται γάρ εἰς ηδονὰς καὶ φαντασίας.*

<sup>11</sup> non odoribus honestatis: Tertull. *Apol.* c. lxii.: *θυρα non eminus*.

The Romans,  
on the con-  
trary, without  
the help of  
your god, en-  
joy the empire  
of the world  
whilst you,  
full of fear  
and uneas-  
iness, deny  
yourselves  
even lawful  
pleasures.

CAP. XII. servatis unguenta funeribus : <sup>12</sup>coronas etiam sepulchris denegatis, pallidi, trepidi, misericordia digni, <sup>13</sup>sed nostrorum deorum. Ita nec resurgitis miseri, nec interim vivitis.

*Forbear then  
to pry into the  
hidden things  
of nature, and  
the destiny of  
the Universe:*

Proinde si quid sapientiae vobis, aut verecundiae est, <sup>14</sup>desinite cœli plagas et mundi fata et secreta rimari: satis est <sup>15</sup>pro pedibus aspicere, maxime indoctis, impolitis, rudibus, agrestibus: quibus non est datum <sup>16</sup>intelligere civilia, multo magis denega-

CAP. XIII. tum est disserere divina. Quanquam, si philoso-

Si Arabes queruntur, sciant Sa-bei, pluris et carioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profigari, quam diis fumigandis. LINDNER.

<sup>12</sup> coronas etiam sepulcris denegatis: Primi Christiani abstinuerunt hoc ritu, ne quid commune cum nationibus haberent. Pagani enim sepultra seris ornabant. Propertius, Lib. III. Eleg. xvi:

Adseret huc unguenta mihi, sertoque sepulcrum

Ornabit, custos ad mea busta sedens.

Et vetus poeta in *Copa*:

Quid cineri ingrato servas bene oientis seria?

Anne coronato vis lapide ista tegi?

Hinc est quod inter crimina Christianis objecta, Justinus Martyr, *Apolog.* II. p. 68 refert, μή τοῖς ἀποθανόστοις χοάς καλ κύσας, καλ ἐταφαῖς (ut Meursius emendat) στεφάνους καλ θυσίας φέρειν. Posteriores autem recesserunt ab hac simplicitate. Prudentius, *Cathemer. hymno x.* exsequiarum extremo:

Nos tecta fovebimus ossa  
Violis et fronde frequenti:  
Titulumque et frigida maxa  
Liquido spargemus odore. CELLARIUS.

<sup>13</sup> sed nostrorum deorum. The construction is *misericordia digni*

deorum, sed nostrorum; "ours, because your own God cannot help you." Pallidi, trepidi: So Lucian, *Philopatr.* § 23, Tom. III. p. 612, ed. Hemsterh., giving an account of the Christian assembly into which he tells us Critias was brought to be made a proselyte, describes them as a company of persons ἐπικεκρότες and κατεχριμένοι. Vide Cave, *Prim. Chr.* Part II. ch. 4.

<sup>14</sup> desinite cœli plagas etc. Quod Christiani ex divinis literis de interitu mundi prædicebant et de aeterna ac coelesti vita. Imitatus criminator postea verba apud Ciceronem de *Divinat.* Lib. II. cap. xiii.; Quod est ante pedes nemo spectat: Cœli scrutantur plagas. CELLARIUS. So Lucian *I. c.* nicknames the Christian αἰθέριοι and αἰθεροβατοῦντες.

<sup>15</sup> pro pedibus, h. e. que pro pedibus sunt: compare the expressions *rem longe, supra repetere*, for 'ex iis quæ longe distant, supra sunt.'

<sup>16</sup> intelligere civilia: Vide Kortholt, *Pagan. Obtr.* c. xx. p. 176, de διχονοτιᾳ Christianorum; Cave, *Prim. Christ.* Pt. I. ch. 3; Tertullian, *Apol.* xlii.: sed alio quoque injuriarum titulo postulamur, et in-

phandi libido est, Socratem sapientiae principem, CAP.XIII.  
<sup>1</sup> quisque vestrum tantus est, si potuerit, imitetur.  
 Ejus viri, quoties de cœlestibus rogabatur, nota re-  
<sup>2</sup> sponsio est : <sup>2</sup> QUOD SUPRA NOS, NIHIL AD NOS. <sup>3</sup> Merito  
 ergo <sup>4</sup> de oraculo testimonium meruit prudentiae  
 singularis ; <sup>5</sup> quod oraculum, idem ipse præsensit,  
 idcirco universis esse præpositum, non quod omnia  
 comperisset sed quod nihil se scire didicisset: ita  
<sup>3</sup> confessæ imperitiae summa prudentia est. Hoc  
 fonte defluxit <sup>6</sup> Arcesilæ, et multo post Carneadis

fructuosi in negotiis dicimur.  
*Disserrere divina* is a construction  
 found in Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.*  
 Lib. III. cap. 40, and elsewhere.

Ch. XIII. <sup>1</sup> Quisque, i. q. quis-  
 quis : so Plaut. *Aarin.* Act II. Sc. iii.  
 v. 24. *Sapientiae principem* : cf. Cicer.  
*de N. D.* II. 66.

<sup>2</sup> QUOD SUPRA NOS NIHIL AD  
 NOS. Lactantius, *de falsa sap.* cap.  
 xx. § i. puts a wrong interpretation  
 on this saying of Socrates. Tertul-  
 lian, *ad Nation.* Lib. II. c. 4, ascribes  
 it to Epicurus. Vide Cic. *Aead.*  
*Quæst.* I. 4, for a correct interpre-  
 tation : also Aul. Gell. xiv. 3; Hieron.  
*adv. Rufin.* cap. 8: Ad ethicam  
 (a physica) transiens dixit: *quod  
 supra nos, nihil ad nos*: Lucret. *de  
 rer. nat.* iv. 471, sqq.: Theodoret.  
*Græc. aff. cur.* p. 60. 17. μετερο-  
 λόγους καὶ φυσιολόγους ἐρρωθεῖ  
 φράσαι τὴν ηθικὴν διδασκαλίαν  
 ησάσατο. Bayle, *Dict. art. Ariston.*  
*Rem. C.*

<sup>3</sup> merito ... meruit, non offendit  
 me magis, quam si viderem scrip-  
 tum: 'merito ei redditum est, me-  
 rito accepit'; immo etiam: 'merito  
 dignus est habitus hoc testimonio.'

J. F. GRONOVIVS *Obs. in Script.*

and, if you  
 must needs  
 philosophize,  
 do so with the  
 caution of  
 SOCRATES.

*Eccles.* cap. vii, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> *de oraculo.* The words of the  
 oracle, as given by Diogenes Laert.  
 Lib. II. in *Vit. Socr.* § 37, were:  
 ἀνδρῶν ἀπάρτων Σωκράτης σοφέστατος.  
 Cf. Justin. M. *cohort.* *ad Græc.*  
 c. 37; Lucian, *Hermet.* § 48; Amor.  
 § 48; Platon. *Apolog.* c. vi. § 14.

<sup>5</sup> *quod oraculum* : h. e. *quod ora-*  
*culum sc. prædixit, vel præsensit,*  
*idem et ipse presensit se idcirco*  
*cet.* *Præsensit*, Wopkenius expli-  
 cat: bene animadvertisit, quo  
 sensu etiam de præsentibus rebus,  
 non tantum de futuris dicitur.  
 LINDNER.

<sup>6</sup> *Arcesile et multo post Carne-*  
*adis.* Philosophi sunt Platonici,  
 uterque caput sue sectæ: ille Aca-  
 demiæ medie: hic novæ sive tertie.  
 Cicero *de Oratore*, Lib. III. cap. 18.  
 Quod vero dicit *multo post*, ex Ci-  
 ceronis *Academ. Quæst.* declaratur,  
 quarum Lib. I. *extr.*, et Lib. IV.  
 cap. 6 tradit Carneadem *quartum*  
 ab Arcesila fuisse: nam interces-  
 serunt hujus scholæ rectores sive  
 principes, Lycides, Evander, et He-  
 gesinus. **CELLARIUS.** *Academicorum*  
*plurimorum* must mean "the other  
 Academics, great as was their num-

CAP.XIII et Academicorum plurimorum in summis quæstionibus tuta dubitatio; quo genere philosophari et caute indocti possunt et docti gloriose. Quid? <sup>4</sup>  
<sup>7</sup>Simonidis melici nonne admiranda omnibus et secunda cunctatio? qui Simonides quum de eo, quid et quales arbitraretur deos, ab Hierone tyranno quæreretur, primo deliberationi diem petiit: postridie biduum prorogavit; mox alterum tantum admonitus adjunxit; postremo, quum causas tantæ moræ <sup>5</sup>tyrannus inquireret, respondit ille: quod sibi, quanto inquisitio tardior pergeret, tanto veritas fieret *I also think,* obscurior. Mea quoque opinione quæ sunt dubia, <sup>6</sup>

ber and variety;" so that Davies' conjectural reading Pyrrhoniorum, and Heumann's juniorum are needless. On the omission of ceterorum see my Aristotle. p. 477.

<sup>7</sup> Simonidis melici. [MS. Melichi An. Melicerti? v. Suidas s. v.] Quae de Simonidis cunctatione narrantur, hausta sunt ex Ciceronis de Nat. Deor. Lib. I. cap. xxii. Melicus autem studii cognomen, non patris: Ceus enim fuit. CELLARIUS. Ceterum Tertullianus Apol. 46. et ad Nation. II. 2, eadem de Thalete, que Minucius de Simonide hunc retulit in modum: 'Quid Thales ille princeps physicorum sciscitanti Cræso de divinitate certum renunciavit, commeatus deliberandi sepe frustratus?' LE NOUARY, cap. iii. Art. III. Vide Bayle's Dict. s. v. Simonides Rem. F.

<sup>8</sup> ut sunt, "as there certainly are." Sic rei veritas eleganter demonstratur, says Bünemann on Lactant. de Fals. relig. cap. viii. § 4.

<sup>9</sup> in alteram partem: cf. supra cap. v. § 1. So alter is opposed to

utergue in Cicer. Acad. II. 43; Hand, Tursell. I. p. 283.

<sup>10</sup> aut anilis inducatur superstitione. 'Est enim in traditionibus divinis periculum, ne aut neglectis iis impia fraude, aut susceptis anili superstitione obligemur,' inquit Cicer. de Div. I. 4. RIGALT.

Ch. XIV. <sup>1</sup> renidens, 'with a smiling air,' 'a smile of satisfaction.' MS. renitens. Orationis impetus. Comp. Ch. IV. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> homo Plautinæ prosapia, 'one of the lineage of Plautus.' The phrase Plautinæ familia occurs in Jerom. Ep. 27. 48, as a term of reproach. The story is, that Plautus the comic writer, being in poverty, hired himself to work at a baker's hand-mill. A. Gell. N. A. iii. 3. ex Varrone. Rigaltius therefore takes it for a ridicule upon the poverty and simplicity of the Christians, (Bingham, Antig. I. ii. § 12): whereupon James Gronovius in his MS. notes remarks: [Agnosco Christianos, prout describit Rigaltius, quippe quos ipse Cæcilius ita descripsit,

<sup>8</sup>ut sunt, relinquenda sunt: nec tot ac tantis viris CAP.XIII.  
deliberantibus temere et audaciter <sup>9</sup>in alteram par-  
tem ferenda sententia est; ne <sup>10</sup>aut anilis inducatur  
superstitio aut omnis religio destruatur.

*we ought to  
leave doubtful  
matters as we  
find them,  
rather than  
judge hastily.*

Sic Cæcilius, et <sup>1</sup>renidens: (nam indignationis CAP.XIV.  
ejus tumorem effusæ orationis impetus relaxave-  
rat), Et quid ad hæc, ait, audet Octavius <sup>2</sup>homo  
Plautinæ prosapiæ, ut pistorum præcipiūs, ita  
<sup>2</sup> postremus philosophorum? <sup>3</sup>Parce, inquam, in eum  
plaudere: neque enim prius exultare te dignum  
est concinnitate sermonis, quam utrinque plenius  
fuerit peroratum; maxime quum <sup>4</sup>non laudi, sed

*CÆCILIUS  
plumes him-  
self upon his  
arguments  
as unanswer-  
able, where-  
upon MINU-  
CIUS inter-  
poses; and  
remarks  
upon the  
fashion of  
disputants  
in general,  
that they try  
to puzzle a*

(cap. viii. § 3) nec negabit Octa-  
vius. Quid igitur? an Octavius  
pistor tantas profectiones instituit,  
quales in principio hujus opusculi  
suppositus auctor? et visendi amici  
gratis dies aliquos Romas facit? et  
pistoriensia negotia eum vocarunt  
Romam? et convictu et familiaritate  
multa usus fuit eum hoc pistore  
Minucius, *insignis causidicus?* et  
pistor ille tam doctus fuit ut fabulas  
historiasque gentilismi haberet per-  
cognitas, non alias sed universas,  
ut ex illis posset delectum facere.  
Etiam qui convenit pistor et philo-  
sophus? Certe jam olim versa-  
vit haec verba Josephus Scaliger,  
notavisse ad Festum in v. *pistum*.  
Certe similis gaudet simili, et ut  
Minucius fuit doctus et juris Romani  
peritus, talis hominis personam in-  
duit etiam Octavio. Attamen et  
Harduinus citat hunc Minucii lo-  
cum ad Plinii librum xxviii. cap. 11.  
p. 463. Sane in voce *pistorum* sunt  
manifestæ reliquæ vocis I<sup>t</sup>ctorum, id  
est, Jurisconsultorum. Certe quem-  
admodum ex illis notis prava verba

fuerint subjecta, patet ex notis Gudii  
ad *Phædr.* p. 305].

<sup>3</sup> *parce in eum plaudere:* Cæ-  
cilius Minucius jam repercutit *Plau-*  
*tina prosapia.* *Parce,* inquit, *in eum*  
*plaudere:* quasi diceret: *Noli in*  
Octavium nostrum latrare cum illa  
tua *Plautina* sive *latrante* prosapia.  
Et est locus duplex. Nam peracta  
Comœdia solent actores plausum  
petere: hic Cæcilius sibi plaudit in  
odium et infamiam Octavii. *RIGAL-*  
*TIUS.* Cf. Dobroï Advers. in Aris-  
tophi. Ach. v. 820.

<sup>4</sup> *non laudi sed veritati*, h. e. non  
pro laude sed veritate. *Altius mo-*  
*veor etc.*, “I am deeply concerned  
not so much about the present con-  
troversy, as at the general method  
of carrying on controversies.” Lind-  
ner gives a different sense, if I un-  
derstand him aright; “Your inge-  
“nious harangue pleased my fancy:  
“nevertheless it requires more than  
“the pleading of one side, the  
“cause must be heard through-  
“out, before my assent can be com-  
“manded.”

**CAP.XIV.** veritati disceptatio vestra nitatur. Et quanquam <sup>3</sup> magnum in modum me subtili varietate tua delectarit oratio, tamen altius moveor, non de praesenti actione sed de toto genere disputandi: quod plerumque pro disserentium viribus et eloquentiae potestate etiam perspicue veritatis conditio mutetur. <sup>4</sup> Id accidere pernotum est auditorum facilitate, qui dum verborum lenocinio a rerum intentionibus avocantur, sine delectu adsentientur dictis omnibus: nec a rectis falsa secernunt, nescientes inesse et in incredibili verum, et in verisimile mendacium. Itaque quo saepius asseverationibus <sup>5</sup> credunt, <sup>6</sup>eo frequentius a peritioribus arguuntur: sic assidue temeritate decepti, <sup>7</sup>culpam judicis transferunt ad incerti querelam, <sup>8</sup>ut damnatis omnibus malint universa suspendere, quam de fallacibus judicare. Igitur nobis providendum est, ne <sup>6</sup> odio <sup>9</sup>identidem sermonum omnium laboremus, ita ut in execrationem et odium hominum plerique simpliciores efferantur. Nam incaute creduli cir- <sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Id accidere pernotum est.*  
Heraldus illustrates the sentiment by the following lines in Clemens Alex. Stromm. Lib. 1.:  
σύλλογοι δὲ πολλάκις ληφθεὶς αὐτῷ δίκαια λέγεται, ὃποιοι εὐγλεῦτον φέρεται νῦν δὲ εἰρόνειοι στόχαιοι τὰ ληφθέστατα κλέπτονται, ὅπει μὴ δοκεῖν ἐχρή δοκεῖν.  
cf. Cicer. *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. 1. cap. 5. *Verisimile for verisimili.* Vid. Creuzer ad Cicer. *de Nat. Deor.* 1. 21. p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> *eo frequentius a peritioribus arguuntur:* “the oftener they are convicted of being in the wrong by

more able disputants.”

<sup>7</sup> *culpam judicis etc.:* “they remove the blame from the judge (i. e. themselves) to a complaint about the doubtfulness of the cause.” *Culpa judicis,* says Gronovius, est quam judex admittit remissa intentione in auditu, vel dum in audiendo animo est omisso. Cf. Sall. *Jugurth.* c. i.

<sup>8</sup> *ut damnatis omnibus malint etc.,* “insomuch that, rejecting all conclusions, they prefer universal scepticism, rather than be at the pains of discerning truth from error.”

cumveniuntur ab his, quos bonos putaverunt: mox CAP.XIV.  
 errore consimili jam suspectis omnibus, ut improbos metuunt, etiam quos optimos sentire potuerunt. Nos proinde <sup>10</sup>solliciti, quod utrumque omni negotio disseratur, et ex altera parte plerumque obscura sit veritas, ex altero latere mira subtilitas, quæ nonnunquam ubertate dicendi <sup>11</sup>fidem confessæ probationis imitetur: diligenter, quantum potest, singula ponderemus, ut argutias quidem laudare, ea vero quæ recta sunt eligere, probare, suscipere possimus.

Decedis, inquit Cæcilius, officio judicis reli- CAP. XV.  
 giosi: nam perinjurium est, vires te actionis meæ intergressu gravissimæ disputationis infringere, quum Octavius integra et illibata habeat singula, <sup>1</sup>si <sup>CÆCILIUS ob-</sup>  
<sup>2</sup>potest refutare. Id quod criminariis, inquam, <sup>2</sup>in <sup>jects to this</sup>  
 commune, nisi fallor, compendium protuli, ut <sup>3</sup>ex- <sup>remark, as</sup>  
 amine scrupuloso nostram sententiam non eloquentiæ tumore sed rerum ipsarum soliditate libremus. <sup>unfair to his</sup>  
<sup>3</sup>Nec avocanda, quod quereris, diutius intentio:

<sup>1</sup> *identidem omnium*, “all without exception.” Hand, *Tursell.* III. 177. A little below *efferantur* is from the verb *efferare*, not *efferre*; “are furiously transported against.”

<sup>10</sup> *Solliciti*, “in doubt and suspense.” *Omni negotio*; Al. *omni in negotio*:

<sup>11</sup> *fidem confessæ probationis imitetur*, ‘gains as much credit as an undeniably demonstrated argument does.’ ‘gains credit, and assumes the guise of conclusive evidence.’

Ch. XV. <sup>1</sup> *si potest, refutare. Id;* the MS. reading, *si potest reputare*

(i. e. *reminisci id*, does not yield so good a sense: I have therefore followed Heraldus in rejecting it. We might also read *singula, si potest, refutaverit. Quod etc.*

<sup>2</sup> *in commune compendium protuli*, i. e. breviter et compendiose recitavi, putans id tibi pariter et mihi fore commodum. HEUMANN.

<sup>3</sup> *examine scrupuloso libremus.* Comp. Shakesp. 2 Henry VI. Act II. Sc. 1;

And poised the cause in justice equal scales,  
 Whose beam stands sure, whose rightful  
 cause prevails.

Their error  
should be a  
lesson to us  
to stay our  
judgment,  
till we have  
carefully  
balanced  
conflicting  
statements.

**CAP.XVI.** quum toto silentio liceat responcionem <sup>4</sup>Januarii nostri jam gestientis audire.

REPLY OF OCTAVIUS.

Et Octavius: Dicam equidem, ut potero, <sup>1</sup> pro viribus; et adnitendum <sup>1</sup>tibi mecum est, ut conviciorum amarissimam labem <sup>2</sup>verborum veracium flumine diluamus. Nec dissimulabo, principio <sup>2</sup> ita <sup>3</sup>Natalis mei errantem, vagam, lubricam nutasse sententiam, ut sit nobis ambigendum, utrum tua eruditio turbata sit, an vacillaverit per errorem; nam interim deos credere, interim se deliberare <sup>4</sup>variavit, <sup>5</sup>ut propositionis incerto incertior responcionis nostræ intentio fundaretur. Sed in Natale <sup>3</sup> meo versutiam nolo, non credo: procul est <sup>6</sup>ab ejus

After noticing the vagueness and contradiction in Cæcilii's argument, (the result not of disingenuousness, but of his lack of fixed and settled principles), and clearing away the antecedent objection that mere external circumstances can

<sup>4</sup> *Januarii*, h. e. Octavii. *Gestientis* means "eager to speak." *Gestire* expresses "a lively desire, shewing itself by outward gestures." Donat. ad Ter. *Eunuch.* III. 5. 7.

Ch. XVI. <sup>1</sup>*tibi*, viz. Minucius.

<sup>2</sup> *verborum veracium flumine*. Quidam *lumine* (the MS. reads *in lumine*) minus apte et contra vim verbi quo sequitur, *diluamus*. Cicerero, *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. II. cap. 7: orationis flumine reprehensoris vitia diluntur. CELLARIUS. *Conviciorum amarissimam labem* is for conviciorum amarissimorum labem. See note on Aristoph. *Irr.* v. 329, p. 444; and comp. ch. xxxv. § 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Natalis*, h. e. Cæcili: *tua eruditio*; this of course he says on turning to Cæcilius. Cellarius reads *sua* i. e. for *ejus*. See Merivale, Sallust. *Jugurth.* cap. 73, note 4. After *turbata sit* we must supply "purposely," as the opposition implied in *per errorem* requires.

<sup>4</sup> *variavit*: i. e. varie et constanter dixit. Livius, Lib. xxvii. cap.

27: si quae de Marcelli morte variant auctores, omnia exequi vellem. HEUMANN. For the sense of *interim*, "one while," see note on ch. xix. § 10.

<sup>5</sup> *ut propositionis incerto incertior etc.*, "in order that, by the ambiguity of his argument, the force of my reply might be weakened, having less sure ground to rest on," "being based on greater uncertainty." For *incertior* the MS. reads *certio*, i. e. certior, which Davies retains, changing *ut* into *ne*.

<sup>6</sup> *ab ejus simplicitate subtilis urbanitas*. The MS. has *ab ejus subtilitate simplicitate subtilis urbanitas*, with a slight mark of erasure before the last word. Gronovius suggests *sinceritate* in lieu of the first, but Davies is more probably correct in attributing the word altogether to some "oscitans librarius, qui inanem vocem scripsit, expungendam vero non existimavit, ne codicem lituris dehonestaret, eumque minus vendibilem redderet. Vide Muretum

4 simplicitate subtilis urbanitas. Quid igitur? ut CAP.XVI.  
 7 quia rectam viam nescit, ubi, ut fit, in plures una diffinditur, qui viam nescit, hæret anxius nec singulas audet eligere nec universas probare: sic cui non est veri stabile judicium, prout infida suspicio spargitur,  
 5 ita ejus dubia opinio dissipatur. Nullum itaque miraculum est, si Cæcilius idemtidem in contrariis ac repugnantibus jactetur, <sup>8</sup> aestuet, fluctuetur: quod ne fiat ulterius, convincam et redarguam, <sup>9</sup> quamvis diversa, quæ dicta sunt, una veritate confirmata probataque. Sic nec dubitandum ei de cetero est nec  
 6 vagandum. Et quoniam meus frater <sup>10</sup> erupit, ægre se ferre, stomachari, indignari, dolere, illiteratos, pau-

operate as a prejudice to the enquiry after truth: which does not necessarily require learning, and is rather hindered than furthered by the possession of wealth; he shews that every man is born with a capacity to feel and reason, (§ 6—§ 9), and is not overstepping, but fulfilling, the conditions of his being, when he enquires into the original of things; an enquiry,

*Var. Lect. Lib. xv. cap. 9.* [Subtilitas animi propinquum vitio: Juv. Satir. xiv. v. 228, levo monitu Schol. explicat subtili. J. GE.]

<sup>7</sup> quia rectam viam nescit: Ovid.

*Fast. v. 3;*

Ut stat, et incertus qua sit sibi nescit eundum,

Quum videt ex omni parte viator iter:  
Sic quis posse datur diversas reddere causas,  
Quæ ferar ignoro; copiasque ipsæ nocet.

Lactantius *de vero cultu* III. 6: dicunt humanæ vitæ cursum literæ Y esse similem, quod unusquisque hominum, quum primæ adolescentis limen attigerit, et in eum locum venierit,

partes ubi se via findit in ambas,  
hæreat nutabundus ac nesciat, in quam se partem potius inclinet." Hence the expression, ἐν τριόδῳ ἀστηκα, Suidas, s. v. For diffinditur, the MS. has diffunditur.

<sup>8</sup> aestuet. So it clearly, I think, stands in the MS. upon which all editors have fathered the reading *aestu et*. Notice the gradation con-

tained in the three verbs, which Gronovius has pointed out.

<sup>9</sup> quamvis diversa quæ dicta sunt, una veritate confirmata probataque. Sic nec etc. In the MS. the word which follows *probata*, is *sint*, which, if we retain it at all, must in order to make sense be removed from its place to *diversa*, in which case the sentence *una veritate, etc.* will have to be taken with *nec dubitandum, etc.* Davies' conjecture *sic* makes perhaps a better sense and is a nearer approximation to the MS. reading. Translate, "I shall refute and disprove his arguments, however great their variety, by proving and establishing the simple truth. Thus he will have no cause for doubt or perplexity hereafter." *De cetero*, i. q. post hoc: Hand, Tursell. II. 222; Büne-mann ad Lactant. *Index*, s. v. d. e.

<sup>10</sup> erupit, "broke out into such expressions as these." For the allusion, see ch. v. § 4.

C. XVI. peres, imperitos, de rebus cœlestibus disputare; without which he cannot attain self-knowledge, and by which he cannot fail to recognise, in the beauty, order, and final causes of creation, the existence of a Supreme Being distinct from the material world.

xvii. § 1—§ 4. <sup>13</sup>divites facultatibus suis illigatos, magis aurum suspicere consuesse quam cœlum: <sup>14</sup>nostrates pauperes et commentos esse prudentiam et tradidisse ceteris disciplinam. Unde apparet ingenium non dari <sup>15</sup>factis cultatibus, nec studio parari, sed cum ipsa mentis formatione generari. Nihil itaque indignandum vel dolendum, si quicunque de divinis quærat, sentiat, proferat; quum <sup>16</sup>non disputantis auctoritas, sed disputationis ipsius veritas requiratur: atque etiam quo imperitior sermo, hoc illustrior ratio est:

<sup>11</sup> *insitos esse sapientiam*: “have had wisdom implanted in them.” The construction, though harsh, may stand: *indeptos* has been proposed as a correction, *insitam esse* would perhaps be more suitable. The whole argument may be compared with that of Cyril Alex. *contra Julian.* vi. p. 207.

<sup>12</sup> *in memorias exierunt*, “have gone forth into the annals of fame.” Plinius, *Panegyr.* cap. 55: *Ibit in secula fuisse principem.*

<sup>13</sup> *divites facultatibus suis illigatos*: “tied up in, engrossed with, their wealth.” Cf. Lactant. vi. 5. § 20: *opibus suis tanquam compedibus illigatos*: vii. 1. § 19: eo fit, ut pauperes et humiles Deo credant faci-

lius, qui sunt expediti; quam *divites*, qui sunt *impedimentis pluribus implicati*; immo vero catenati, et compediti serviant ad natum dominas cupiditatem, quæ illos inextricabilibus vinculis irretivit; nec possunt in cœlum *adspicere*, quoniam mens eorum in terram prona, humique defixa est: 2 Tim. Ep. ii. v. 4. οὐδεὶς στρατεύμενος ἐμπλέκεται τὰς τοῦ βίου πραγματεῖας. So *adstrictus studio*, Sallust, *Jugurth.* c. 60. 70. *Adeo* means “what is more,” “in fact:” Hand, *Tursell.* i. p. 453.

<sup>14</sup> *nostrates*, i. e. *nostræ sectæ*, Christianos fratres, quibus est communis patria cœlum. RIGALT. Minucius *nostrates pauperes* vocat eos qui fuerunt ejusdem sortis, ordinis et

quoniam non fucatur pompa facundiæ et gratiæ, c. xvii.  
 1 sed, ut est, recti regula sustinetur. Nec recuso,  
 quod Cæcilius adserere inter præcipua connisus est,  
<sup>1</sup> hominem nosse se et circumspicere debere, quid  
 sit, unde sit, quare sit; utrum elementis concretus,  
 an concinnatus atomis, an potius a Deo factus,  
 2 formatus, animatus? Quod ipsum explorare et  
 eruere sine universitatis inquisitione non possu-  
 mus, quum ita cohærentia, connexa, concatenata  
 sint, ut, nisi divinitatis rationem diligenter excus-  
 seris, nescias humanitatis: nec possis pulchre gerere  
 rem civilem, nisi cognoveris hanc communem om-  
 3 nium mundi civitatem: præcipue quum a feris  
 belluis hoc differamus, quod <sup>2</sup> illa prona in terram-  
 que vergentia, nihil nata sint prospicere, nisi pabu-  
 lum: nos, quibus vultus erectus, quibus suspectus  
 in cœlum datus est, sermo et ratio, per quæ Deum  
 agnoscimus, sentimus, imitamur, ignorare <sup>3</sup> nec fas

conditionis, ac tunc erant Christiani;  
 quemadmodum nostrates philosophos  
 pro philosophis illius sectæ vel dis-  
 ciplinæ ponit Cicero, *Tuscul. Disp.*  
*Lib. v. cap. 32.* DAVIES.

<sup>16</sup> *facultatibus*, h. e. pro facultatibus: Plautus, *Pers. iv. 4. 13*: Datur  
 haec sexaginta minis. LINDNER.

<sup>16</sup> *non disputantis auctoritas etc.*  
 Cf. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor. Lib. i. c. 5*:  
 non tam auctoritis in disputando, quam  
 rationis momenta querenda sunt:  
 Arnobius, *adv. nat. i. 59*: Theophil.  
*ad Autolyc. i. i.*: ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας  
 ἡραστής οὐ προσέχει λόγους μεμ-  
 ασμένοις, ἀλλὰ ἐξετάζει τὸ ἔρ-  
 γον τοῦ λόγου, τι καὶ ὅποιον  
 ἔστιν. WOWER.

Ch. XVII. <sup>1</sup> *hominem nosse se*

*et circumspicere debere: οὐδὲ*  
*ἴσικε, πάντων μέγιστον μαθημά-*  
*των, τὸ γυναικεῖον αὐτῶν· ἀντὸν γάρ*  
*τις ἔαν γυνάγῃ, θεὸν εἰσεται· θεὸν δὲ*  
*εἰδὼς ἐξομοιωθησέται θεῷ.* Clem.  
 Alexandr. *Pædag. iii. 1.* ELMEN-  
 HORST. Cf. Lactant. *i. 1. 24.*

<sup>2</sup> *illa prona.* An imitation of  
 Ovid's well-known lines, *Metamor.*  
*i. v. 84:*

Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera  
 terram,  
 Os homini sublime dedit cœlumque tueri  
 Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.

Compare Sallust, *Bell. Catil. ch. i.*  
 with Merivale's note: Cicero *de*  
*Nat. Deor. Lib. ii. c. 55*: Lactant.  
*de opificio Dei*, *c. 8*.

<sup>3</sup> *nec fas*, h. e. *nec possibile est*:

C. XVII. nec licet ingerentem sese oculis et sensibus nostris cœlestem claritatem. Sacrilegii enim <sup>4</sup>vel maxime instar est, humi quærere, quod in sublimi debeas invenire.

For to believe  
that this  
beautiful  
world was  
framed by  
chance, ar-  
guem absolute  
want of in-  
telligence and  
observation;  
since the  
natural  
proofs of the  
*all-governing*  
*providence*  
and *intelli-*  
*gence* of God  
are so clear  
and irrefra-  
gible.

Quo magis mihi videntur qui hunc mundi to- 4  
tius ornatum non divina ratione perfectum volunt,  
sed <sup>5</sup>frustis quibusdam temere cohærentibus con-  
globatum, mentem, sensum, oculos denique ipsos  
non habere. Quid enim potest esse tam aper- 5  
tum, tam confessum tamque perspicuum, quum  
oculos in cœlum sustuleris, et quæ sunt infra cir-  
caque lustraveris, quam esse aliquod numen præ-  
stantissimæ mentis, quo omnis natura inspiretur,

Bünemann ad Lactant. *de orig. error.*  
1. § 6: cultum ejus quem prorsus  
ignorari ab homine *fas non est*. *In-*  
*gerentem sese oculis*, etc. "thrusting  
in at his eyes." Lactantius has bor-  
rowed this forcible expression: *de  
fals. rel. cap. v. § 2*: veritatis ipsius  
tanta est vis, ut nemo possit esse  
tam cœsus, qui non videat ingerentem  
*se oculis divinam claritatem.*

<sup>4</sup> *vel maxime instar est*: "is as  
like as any thing can be." All edi-  
tors read *maximi* against MS. au-  
thority.

<sup>5</sup> *frustis quibusdam temere cohæ-*  
*rentibus*, "fragments of matter,  
atoms meeting together at adven-  
tures and without any determinate  
direction." The next sentence is  
nearly word for word from Cicero,  
11. *de Nat. Deor. cap. 2*; comp. *de  
legg. c. i. viii.*; 1 *Tusc. Disp. cap.  
xiii.*; *de aruspic. resp. c. ix.*; also  
Lactantius, Lib. 1. cap. 2. It will  
be observed that Minucius puts into  
the mouth of Octavius the ordinary  
heathen arguments for the existence

of a God; and as Cæcilius arms him-  
self from Cicero, he disarms him  
with texts from the same author.  
Lactantius commences his *Institu-*  
*tiones* with the assumption of what  
Octavius proves so eloquently, viz.,  
that τὰ δόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀρὸ κτίσεος  
κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα κα-  
θοράται, ή τε δίδοεις αὐτοῦ δύναμις  
καὶ θεότης, (*Rom. 1. 20*): he does  
not, he says, consider it necessary,  
"ab illa quæstione principium su-  
mere quæ videtur esse prima natura,  
sitne providentia quæ rebus  
omnibus consensat, an fortuitu  
vel facta sint omnia vel ge-  
rantur"; the objections to it hav-  
ing already been abundantly an-  
swered, "ab hominibus argutis et  
eloquentibus." Compare Tertull.  
*Apolog. c. xvii*: *Hæc est summa*  
*delicti* nolentium recognoscere quæ  
ignorare non possunt: Cyprian *de  
Idol. van. c. ii.*

<sup>6</sup> *cætum quam late tenditur*, "how  
widely are the heavens stretched  
out like a curtain." For the mean-

6 moveatur, alatur, gubernetur? <sup>6</sup>Cælum ipsum vide c. xvii.  
 quam late tenditur, quam rapide volvitur, vel  
 quod in noctem astris distinguitur, vel quod in  
 diem sole lustratur: jam scies, quam sit in eo  
 7 summi moderatoris mira et divina libratio. Vide  
 et annum ut solis ambitus faciat: et mensem vide  
 ut <sup>7</sup>luna auctu, senio, labore circumagat. Quid te-  
 nebrarum et luminis dicam recursantes vices, ut sit  
 8 nobis <sup>8</sup>operis et quietis alterna reparatio? Relin-  
 quenda vero astrologis prolixior de sideribus oratio  
 vel quod regant cursum navigandi, vel quod <sup>9</sup>arandi  
 metendique tempus inducant: quæ singula non  
 modo ut crearentur, fierent, disposerentur, summi

ing of *tendere* compare ch. iii. § 2.

<sup>7</sup> *luna auctu, senio, labore*, “the moon by its increase, wane, and change.” *Labor*, though usually applied to the moon’s *eclipse*, must here refer to its total disappearance, the time of its death as Theophilus calls it, *ad Autol.* II. § 15, p. 80. Hildebrand *ad Apulej. Florid.* IV. c. 18. p. 89, and again *de deo Socr.* c. xxi. p. 160 proposes a strange theory, on the meaning of the word *labor*. He connects it with the verb *labor*, and *labea*.

<sup>8</sup> *operis et quietis*. Imitated from Cicero; *jam diei noctisque vicissi-  
tudo conservat animantes, tribuens  
aliud agendi tempus, aliud quies-  
cendi: de Nat. Deor.* II. 53.

<sup>9</sup> *arandi ... tempus inducant*, “bring on fit times for tilling the ground, and for harvest-work.” *Hoc astra non peragunt: sed tan-  
tum nunciant et demonstrant, quo  
tempore messis aut aratio sit in-  
sipienda; Hesiodus, opp. et dies,  
v. 383:*

Πληγέων Ἀτλαντάν τιτελλομενάν  
 ἀρχεσθ ἀμητού ὄροτο δὲ δυσσομενάν.

Adi sis et Virgilium *Georg.* I. 204, seqq. Cum illi igitur facio qui legunt, *arandi metendique tempus in-  
dicant*. Philo Judæus *de opificio  
mundi*, pag. 20; Πλειδές, ηγέ-  
τι μέλλωσι ἐπιτέλλεσθαι, ἀμητό-  
σθα γγελ ιζουται. Sic Cicero *de  
Lentisco Divin.* Lib. I. cap. 9:

Ter fruges fundens tria tempora mon-  
 strat arandi.

Vide *Constit. Apostol.* Lib. VII. cap.  
 34. DAVIES. [*εἰσαγεῖ Soph. Trach.*  
 v. 29, Suidas in *πόνος πόνῳ*: Ovid,  
*Fast.* v. 163. J. GR.]

The whole of this is adapted from Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. II. The next sentence may be translated, “To create, to fashion, to “arrange all those things, there “needed a prime artificer and a “perfect intelligence, and not only “so, but to perceive, discern and “understand them requires the ut- “most exertion of human sagacity.”

C. XVII. opificis et perfectae rationis eguerunt : verum etiam sentiri, perspici, intelligi, sine summa sollertia et ratione non possunt. Quid? quum ordo temporum ac frugum stabili varietate distinguitur, nonne auctorem suum parentemque testatur ver æque cum suis floribus, et æstas cum suis messibus, et autumni maturitas grata, et <sup>10</sup>hiberna olivitas necessaria? qui ordo facile turbaretur, nisi maxima ratione consisteret. <sup>11</sup>Jam providentiae quantæ, ne hiems sola glacie ureret aut sola æstas ardore torreret, autumni et veris inserere medium temperamentum, ut per vestigia sua anni revertentis <sup>12</sup>occulti et innoxii transitus laberentur. <sup>13</sup>Mari intende : lege

<sup>10</sup> hiberna olivitas, 'winter which matures the olives,' DALRYMPLE. 'The moist and unctuous winter,' REEVES. *Olivitas* which is properly, 'the olive-vintage,' is here put for 'the time of the gathering of olives,' i.e. winter, as messis is often used for æstas: Virgil. *Ecl.* v. 70:

Tercentum messes, tercentum musta videre.

Ovid. *Metam.* xiv. 146. Columella *de re rustic.* lib. xii. cap. 50, says: "Media est olivitas plerumque initium mensis Decembri: nam et ante hoc tempus acerbum oleum conficitur, quod vocatur aestivalum, et circa hunc mensem viride premitur, deinde postea maturum." Ergo hibernam olivitatem necessariam, says Gronovius, intellige hiemem oliveram necessariam perinde, ut priores illæ partes non tantum necessarie, verum etiam gratae. Carmen *de judicio Domini*, quod Tertulliano ascribitur, quatuor anni tempora

prope iisdem notis expedit :

Quis verni roseas titulabit floribus auras :  
Æstivæque graves maturas mesis aristas :  
Quis dabit et tumidas auctumni vitibus  
uvas :

Quisve hiemi placitas semper laudabit  
olivas ?

GRONOV. *Observ. Eccles.* p. 79.

<sup>11</sup> Jam providentie quanta (sc. est)...inserere, "Then again, what admirable foresight it marks to interpose." On *jam* see Index, s.v. *Ne hiems sola ureret*, "that there might not be one uniform winter to benumb with cold." So Liv. xl. 45: *Hiems arboreas, quas obnoxias frigori- bus sunt, deuaserat cunctas.*

<sup>12</sup> occulti et innoxii transitus. Egregie Socrates apud Xenophon. tem hoc utitur argumento, quo probet Deos hominibus consulere: τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπειτα καὶ τοῦτο φανερόν, (ὅτι διν ὑπενέγκουμεν οὕτε τὸ καῦμα οὕτε τὸ ψύχος, εἰ ἔξαπίνη γίγνοιτο) οὕτω μὲν κατὰ μικρὸν προσιέναι τὸν ἥλιον, οὕτω δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπιέναι, ὡστε λαυθάνειν

11 litoris stringitur. Quidquid arborum est, vide quam C. XVII.  
 e terræ visceribus animatur. Adspice Oceanum:  
 refluit reciprocis sestibus. Vide fontes: manant  
 venis perennibus. Fluvios intuere: eunt semper ex-  
 12 ercitibus lapsibus. Quid loquar <sup>14</sup>apte disposita recta  
 montium, collum flexa, porrecta camporum? Quid-  
 ve animantium loquar adversus sese tutelam multi-  
 formem? alias armatas cornibus, alias dentibus  
 septas et <sup>15</sup>fundatas ungulis et spicatas aculeis: aut  
 pedum celeritate liberas, aut elatione pinnarum?  
 13 Ipsa præcipue formæ nostræ pulchritudo Deum  
 fatetur artificem: status <sup>16</sup>rigidus, vultus erectus,  
 oculi in summo velut in specula constituti, et omnes

ημᾶς εἰς ἐκάτερα τὰ ισχυρότατα  
 καθισταμένους: Similiter Dion  
 Chrysostomus *Orat. III. de regno*  
 p. 50, ubi videndum F. Morellus.  
 DAVIES. Quod Virgil. *Georg. II.*  
 344, de novis satis canit, idem etiam  
 de corporibus animantium valet:

Nec res hunc tenerse possent perferre la-  
 borem,

Si non tanta quies iret frigusque calorem-  
 que

Inter, et exciperet cœli indulgentia terras.

LINDNER.

<sup>14</sup> Mari intende, "observe the sea." comp. ch. vii. § 8. *Stringitur*, i. e. *adstringitur*, "is confined within strict limits." See note on ch. x. § 6. *Lege litoris*, "by a law that the shore imposes." So Job xxviii. 11: Jeremiah v. 22. [Aspice Oceanum: quasi vel ex Hispania vel ex Mauretania accessisset. J. GR.]

<sup>14</sup> apte disposita, h. e. quam apte disposita sint, "the fit arrangement of the steep mountains and sloping hills." *Recta montium*, i. q. erecta

montium. Gronov. *Obs. Eccles.* p. 34. For the construction see Büne-  
 mann on Lactant. *de vit. beat.* Lib. vii. c. 8, p. 871, the whole of which  
 passage may be compared with this, as also Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 39. *Adversus sese*, "against each other," for *adversus se invicem*.

<sup>15</sup> *fundatas ungulis etc.* "shod with hoofs, or pointed with stings."

*Alias armatas cornibus*: comp. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 47.

*Pedum ... liberas*, "secured in their freedom by speed of foot or by their capacity of soaring aloft."

<sup>16</sup> *rigidus*, 'upright.' So Lactant. *Div. Inst.* II. ii. 17: *nobis proprium est cœlum rigidis ac stantibus intueri*: *ib. xvii. 9*: *hominem rigidum figuravit: de opif. Dei*, viii. 2: *nunc ad cœli contemplationem rigidum erexit*: the whole of which chapter, it may be observed, is an amplification of Octavius' argument. Comp. also Cicer. *N. D.* II. 56; *de Legg.* I. 9; Augustin. *C. D.* xiv. 24.

C. XIX. ceteri <sup>17</sup> sensus velut in arce compositi. <sup>1</sup> Longum est ire per singula: <sup>2</sup> nihil in homine membrorum est, quod non et necessitatis caussa sit, et decoris: et quod magis mirum est, eadem figura omnibus sed quædam unicuique lineamenta deflexa: sic et similes universi videmur, et <sup>3</sup> inter se singulis dissimiles invenimur. Quid nascendi ratio? quid <sup>2</sup> cupido generandi? nonne a Deo data est? et <sup>4</sup> ut ubera partu maturescente lactescant, et ut tener fœtus ubertate lactei roris adolescat? <sup>5</sup> Nec universitati solummodo Deus, sed et partibus consulit. <sup>6</sup> Britannia sole deficitur, sed circumfluentis maris tepore recreatur: <sup>7</sup> Ægypti siccitatem temperat Nilus amnis: colit Euphrates Mesopotamiam: [pro <sup>4</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *sensus velut in arce.* Sensus interpres ac nuncii rerum in capite, tanquam in arce, mirifice ad usus necessarios et facti et collocati sunt. Cicer. de N. D. ii. 56.

Ch. XIX. <sup>1</sup> *Longum est.* See Index: and comp. ch. xxiii. § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *nihil....membrorum.* Eodem modo Stoici omnia in hominum figura, non modo ad usum verum etiam ad venustatem apta, describere solebant; Cic. de N. D. i. 18. The proof of a God from the structure of human bodies is discoursed at large in the same treatise, lib. ii. ch. 54.

<sup>3</sup> *inter se invenimus:* *Inter se pro:* inter nos. Comp. above, cap. xi. § 2, and also Virgil. Æn. vi. v. 743:

Quisque suos patimur manus.

<sup>4</sup> *ut ubera;* h.e. nonne a Deo datum est, ut ubera, etc. LINDNER.

<sup>5</sup> *nec universitati.* Eodem modo

Lucilius apud Ciceronem de N.D. ii. 65: nec vero universo generi hominum solum, sed etiam singulis a Diis immortalibus consuli et providi solet. LINDNER.

<sup>6</sup> *Britannia sole deficitur,* i. e. destituitur, caret. "Britain is deficient in sunshine." In this the ancients agree. Strabo, Geogr. l. iv, p. 200 ed. Paris. (quoted by Wower) says that the sun is not visible in Britain for above three or four hours together, ("Ἐπομβροὶ δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ δέπερ μᾶλλον ἡ νιφίτωδεις, ἐν δὲ ταῖς αὐθάδεις ὁμίχλη κατέχει πόλιν χρόνον, ὥστε δὲ ἡμέρας δῆλης ἐπὶ τρεῖς μόνον ἡ τέτταρας ὥρας τὰς περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν δρᾶσθαι τὸν ἥλιον). Tacitus says, "colum ejus crebris imbribus et nebulis fœdum: at asperitatem frigorum abesse:" Agric. cap. xii. Herodian ventures still further, and asserts that the air in Britain is *always* foggy (*δει γοφά-*

imbribus pensat] Indus flumen et serere Orientem C. XIX.  
dicitur et rigare. <sup>8</sup> Quod si ingressus aliquam domum, omnia exulta, disposita, ornata vidisses; utique præesse ei crederes dominum, et illis bonis rebus multo esse meliorem: ita in hac mundi domo, quum cœlum terramque perspicias, providentiam, ordinem, legem; crede esse universitatis dominum parentemque ipsis sideribus et totius 5 mundi partibus pulchriorem. Ni forte, quoniam de providentia nulla dubitatio est, inquirendum putas, utrum unius imperio, an arbitrio plurimorum cœleste regnum gubernetur: quod ipsum non est multi laboris aperire cogitanti imperia terrena, <sup>9</sup> quibus exempla utique de cœlo. Quando

*Argument for the Unity of God, drawn from a consideration of the analogy of human empires and the animal creation.*

δη φαίνεται) Sever. lib. iii. c. 47.  
HAILES. *Maria tempore recreatur.*  
Cic. *de N. D.* ii. 10: "Maria agitata ventis ita tepeſcunt, ut intelligi facile possit in tantis illis humoribus inclusum esse calorem.

<sup>7</sup> *Ægypti siccitatem temperat Nilus.* cf. Plin. *Panegyr.* cap. 30. Our author here again follows Cicero, who says: "Ægyptum Nilus irrigat, et cum tota æstate obrutam oppletamque tenuerit, tum recedit mollitosque et oblimatos agros ad serendum relinquit. Mesopotamiam fertilem efficit Euphrates, in quam quotannis quasi novos agros invehit: Indus vero, qui est omnium fluminum maximus, non aqua solum agros lœtitiat et mitigat, sed eos etiam consernit. Magnam enim vim seminum, frumenti similium, dicitur secum deportare: *de N. D.* ii. 52. Comp. Strabo, *Geogr.* L. xv. p. 690.

<sup>8</sup> *quod si ingressus.* An imitation of the argument of Lucilius, in Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 5: Si quis in domum aliquam aut in gymnasium aut in forum venerit, quum videat omnium rerum rationem, modum, disciplinam; non possit ea sine causa fieri judicare, sed esse aliquem intelligat qui præsit et cui pareatur: multo magis in tantis motibus tantisque vicissitudinibus, tam multarum rerum atque tantarum ordinibus, in quibus nihil unquam immensa et infinita vetustas mentita sit, statuat necesse est ab aliqua mente tantos naturæ motus gubernari. Comp. Lactantius, *de Origine Error.* viii. 66.

<sup>9</sup> *quibus exempla utique de cœlo sc.* sunt petita, "human empires analogous to that of heaven." Cyprian, *de Idol. vanit.* c. 5; ad divinum imperium etiam de terris mutuemur exemplum: Athanas. *contr. Gent.* § 38.

C. XIX. unquam regni societas aut cum fide cœpit, <sup>10</sup> aut sine cruento discessit? <sup>11</sup> Omitto Persas de equorum 6 hinnitu augurantes principatum; et <sup>12</sup> Thebanorum par mortuum, fabulam, transeo: ob pastorum et casæ regnum <sup>13</sup> de geminis memoria notissima est: <sup>14</sup> generi et socii bella toto orbe diffusa sunt: et tam magni imperii duos fortuna non cepit. Vide 7 cetera: rex unus apibus, dux unus in gregibus, in armentis rector unus: tu in cœlo summam potestatem dividi credas, et scindi veri illius ac divini imperii totam <sup>15</sup> potestatem? quum palam sit, parentem omnium Deum nec principium habere, nec

The other  
divine attri-  
butes and  
perfections

<sup>10</sup> *aut sine cruento discessit.* En-

hius apud Cicer. *de Offic.* I:

Nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est.

Cyprian, *de Idol. vanit.* cap. v: quando unquam regni societas aut cum fide cœpit aut sine cruento desiit? Sic Thebanorum germanitas rupta et permanens rogis dissidentibus etiam in morte discordia. Some editors read desiit in the text of Minucius from this passage. [discessit: ut discedere cœlum in Virgil. Burmann. p. 28. J. GR.]

<sup>11</sup> *omitto Persas.* Possem equidem exemplum adducere Persarum, ubi Smerde occiso, adeo inter septem magos regni non convenit societas, ut *Ιανοβούια* et *δλιγαρχία* rejecta, ei principatum deferri placearet, cuius equus, inter solis ortum, primus hinnitum edidisset; sed ob vetustatem eam rem omitto. Historiam refert Justinus i. 10; et Herodotus III. 84: [Valer. Maxim. vii. 2], LINDNER. *De i. q. per:* vide Hildebrand. Apulej. *Metam.* p. 668: Hand, *Tursell.* II. p. 219 seqq.

<sup>12</sup> *Thebanorum par,* sc. Eteocles

and Polynices. Similarly Petronius Arbit. *Satyr.* c. 80 speaks of them as *Thebanum par*. The MS. reading is *per mortuam fabulam*; whence Gronovius reads *par, mortuam fabulam*, explaining *mortuam* as, "jam exoletam, sine efficacia et vi, ut demonstrando valide vero nequeat opitulari." "Fabulam dicit, "quo excuset exemplum ex mythologia repetitum inter historica, "quibus suam sententiam probet "atque stabiliat:" Oehler, who reads *mortuum*.

<sup>13</sup> *de geminis,* sc. Romulo et Remo: Liv. i. vii. 2.

<sup>14</sup> *generi et socii,* sc. Pompeii et Cæsaris: Virgil, *AEn.* vi. 830.

The expression *duos fortuna non cepit* is borrowed directly or through Florus (iv. 2. 14), from Lucan's well-known lines (*Phars.* i. 209):

populique potentis

Non cepit fortuna duos.

<sup>15</sup> *potestatem* [an proprietatem? Tertullian, *Apolog.* 24. i. ex.] Davies suggests that in the former part of the sentence *potestatem* should

terminum : <sup>16</sup> qui nativitatem omnibus præstet, sibi C. XIX.  
 perpetuitatem : qui ante mundum fuerit sibi ipse  
 pro mundo. Qui universa, quæcunque sunt, <sup>17</sup> verbo  
<sup>8</sup> jubet, ratione dispensat, virtute consummat. Hic  
<sup>18</sup> nec videri potest ; visu clarior est : nec compre-  
 hendi ; [tactu purior est] : nec aestimari ; sensibus  
 major est, infinitus, immensus, et soli sibi, tantus  
 quantus est, notus : nobis vero ad intellectum  
 pectus angustum est : et ideo sic eum digne aesti-  
<sup>9</sup> mamus, dum inæstimabilem dicimus. Eloquar,  
 quemadmodum sentio : magnitudinem Dei, qui se  
 putat nosse, minuit : qui non vult minuere, <sup>19</sup> non

What the  
essence is  
of the Su-  
preme Being,  
is beyond  
the reach of  
our finite  
faculties to  
understand.

be cancelled and *summam* be taken  
 for a substantive.

<sup>16</sup> *qui nativitatem omnibus præstet etc.* : τοῦ ζωοποιῶντος τὰ πάντα, 1 Tim. ch. vi. 13; and again, ver. 16 : ὁ μόνος ἡχων δθανασίαν.

<sup>17</sup> *verbo jubet*, sc. *esse*. Tertulian *Apolog.* c. xvii. : “Deus totam molem istam, *verbo*, quo jussit: *ratione*, qua dispositus: *virtute*, qua potuit, de nihilo expressit, and cap. xxi: jam diximus, Deum universitatem hanc mundi verbo et ratione et virtute molitus: cui et sermo insit prænuntianti et ratio adsit disponenti, et virtus præsit perficiens.

<sup>18</sup> *nec videri potest*. Cyprian has transcribed this passage nearly word for word, cap. v. § 5. From him most editors after Meursius have introduced the words *tactu purior est*, which are not found in the MS. Tertullian has a parallel passage: “invisibilis est etiæ videatur : incomprehensibilis, etiæ per gratiam representetur ; inæstimabilis, etiæ “humanis sensibus aestimetur. Ideo “verus et tantus est. Ceterum quod

“videri communiter, quod compre-  
 hendi, quod aestimari potest, minus  
 “est et oculis quibus occupatur, et  
 “manibus quibus contaminatur et  
 “sensibus quibus inventur. Quod  
 “vero immensum, soli sibi notum  
 “est; hoc quod est, Deum aestimari  
 “facit, dum aestimari non capit: ita  
 “eum vis magnitudinis et notum ho-  
 “minibus objicit et ignotum : ” *Apolo-*  
*get.* c. xvii. In like manner Theophilus, *ad Autolyc.* i. 5, says: τὸ μὲν  
 εἶδος τοῦ Θεοῦ—μὴ δυνάμενον δῆ-  
 θαλμοῖς σαρκίνοις δραθῆναι· δόξη  
 γάρ ἔστιν ἄχωρητος, μεγέθει ἀκα-  
 πτληττος, ὑψει ἀπεριόντος, ἰσχὺι  
 δούγκριτος κ. τ. λ. cf. Tatian *or.*  
*contr. Græc.* § 4; Lactantius, *Divin.*  
*Inst. Lib.* vii. cap. viii. And not only  
 Christian, but pagan writers also,  
 breathe the same sentiment. Thus  
 Aristotle *de Mondo*, cap. v: πάσοι  
 θνητοὶ φύσει γενόμενος ἀθεωρητος,  
 δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων θεωρεῖται  
 ὁ θεός: and Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i.  
 29: Deum agnoscis ex operibus  
 ejus.

<sup>19</sup> *non novit*: is profitetur se non

c. xix. novit. <sup>20</sup>Nec nomen Deo queras : Deus nomen est. 10

hence vanity  
of terms to  
express it.

novit. <sup>20</sup>Nec nomen Deo quaeras : Deus nomen est. 10  
Illic vocabulis opus est, quum per singulos propriis  
appellationum insignibus multitudo dirimenda est.  
Deo, qui solus est, DEI vocabulum totum est.  
<sup>21</sup>Quem si patrem dixeris, terrenum opineris : si  
regem, carnalem suspiceris : si dominum, intelliges  
utique mortalem. Aufer additamenta nominum, et  
perspicies ejus claritatem. Quid ? quod omnium 11  
<sup>22</sup>de isto habeo consensum. <sup>23</sup>Audio vulgus, quum

*Men's natural sense and immediate consciousness of*

nosse hanc magnitudinem. LIND-

<sup>30</sup> *nec nomen Deo quasras.* [τὸν Θεὸν δὲ δύομα καθολικῶν καὶ δοριστῶν λεγόμενον. Tzetzes, *Hesiod.* p. 9, col. 6. s. en.] Cyprian, *t. c.* uses the same words with very little alteration: *Lactantius* also, *de Falsa Relig.* c. vi. § 4, after citing an assertion of *Mercurius Trismegistus*, that God was “*δυάνυμος*, eo quod nominis proprietate non egat, ob ipsam scilicet unitatem,” continues in language manifestly imitated from that of *Minucius*: “*Deo igitur nomen non est, quia solus est: nec opus est proprio vocabulo, nisi quum dissimile crimen exigit multitudo, ut unam quamque personam sua nota et adducat pellatione designes.*” So *Justin M. Apolog.* i. § 10, p. 19, and § 80, p. 118, and *Apolog. ii.* § 6, p. 12. 18; *Oriogen adv. Cels. Lib. vi.* p. 320, enters into a full explanation of the sense in which this is predicated of the Deity: καὶ τὸ “οὐκ δύομα στὸ δὲ δύαστολῆς δέπται” εἰ μὲν γάρ διτοι οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν λέξεις καὶ σημαινομένων δύναται παραστῆσαι τὰς διστητὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ, διλήθεις ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον· εἴ τοι καὶ πολλαὶ ποιεῖσθαις οὐκ εἰσὶ δύομασται· τίς γάρ δύναται δύομασι διαφορὰν δύναις

ποιότητος, γλυκύτητος φοίνικος καὶ γλυκέτητος ἰσχάδος; τί δὲ δύναμαι δύναται διαστελλασθαι καὶ παραστῆσαι ὅτιν ἐκάστου ἴδιαν ποιότητα· οὐδὲν οὖν θυμαστὸν εἰ οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως δύναμαστός ὁ Θεός. εἰ δὲ τὸ δύναμαστὸν λαμβάνει, κάθο οἶός τε ἔστιν δύναμας παραστῆσαι τι τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ χειραγωγῆσαι τὸν ἀκροπάτην καὶ ποιῆσαι οὐσῆς περὶ Θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἐφίκτον τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσει, τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲν ἄποτον λέγειν αὐτὸν δύναμαστόν.

<sup>51</sup> quem si patrem. Epitheta terrenum et carnalem aptius hand dubie sic disposueris: quem si patrem dixeris, carnalem opineris; si regem, terrenum suspiceris. WORKEN. [Egrecie Proclus ad Hesiod. p. 66, de Jovis oculo, μη δρασιν ἔχειν σωματικήν δλλάγοεράν. s. c.]

*22 de isto, hoc est, de ista re.*

**22** *audio vulgus....dicunt.* For the construction of verbs of sense with the indicative, see Cort. Cicer. Ep. iii. 1. 3. Tertullian in a noble passage of his *Apology*, appeals to the *testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ*, ‘the spontaneous expression of an irrepressible and immediate consciousness of the Deity

ad cœlum manus tendunt, nihil aliud quam DEUM C. XIX.  
dicunt: et DEUS MAGNUS EST: et DEUS VERUS  
12 EST: et <sup>24</sup>Si DEUS DEDERIT. <sup>25</sup>Vulgi iste naturalis  
sermo est, an Christiani confitentis oratio? et  
<sup>26</sup>qui Jovem principem volunt, falluntur in nomine,  
sed de una potestate consentiunt.

God, shewn  
by the spon-  
taneous ex-  
pressions of  
common life.

Audio poetas quoque <sup>1</sup>unum patrem divum CAP.XIX.  
atque hominum prædicantes, et, talem esse morta-  
lium mentem, <sup>2</sup>qualem parens omnium diem duxer-

The poets  
speak of God  
as One and as  
a Spirit, and  
so far are

in the untutored soul: "vultis ex animis ipsius testimonio comprobemus? Que licet carcere corporis pressa, licet institutionibus pravis circumscripta, licet libidinibus et concupiscentiis evigorata, licet falsis diis exancillata, quum tamen resipiscit, ut ex crapula, ut ex somno, ut ex aliqua valetudine, et sanitatem suam patitur, DEUM nominat, hoc solo quia proprie verus hic unus: DEUS BONUS et MAGNUS, et QUOD DEUS DEDERIT, omnium vox est. Judicem quoque contestatur illum, DEUS VIDET, et DEO COMMENDO, et DEUS MIHI REDDET. O testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ! Denique pronuntians hæc, non ad Capitolum, sed ad cœlum respicit. Novit enim sedem Dei vivi ab illo, et inde descendit." He has also devoted a special treatise to the same subject, viz. the *de testimonio anime*. Cf. ad *Scapulam*, cap. iv.; Neander's *Antignostikus*, p. 258, foll.: *Church Hist.* Vol. i. p. 246 ed. Bohn.

<sup>24</sup> Si DEUS DEDERIT: ην Θεὸς ὁλὴ, Xenoph. *Cyrop.* iv. 2. 13: Aristoph. *Plut.* v. 347, 405; Plato, *Alcib.* i. p. 135: ην Θεὸς παράσχη, Herod. *pessim.*: ξὺν Θεῷ, Aristoph. *Plut.* 114: Soph. *Ajax*, 383.

<sup>25</sup> vulgi iste naturalis sermo est.

Naturalis est ἔμφυτος, sine monitore vel institutione prævia; nam ratiocinatio *Felicis* eorum sententia nititur, qui *ideas*, ut loquuntur, *innatas* statuant. Sed hanc opinionem prorsus evertit acutissimus Philo-  
phus *Joan. Lochius de Intellig. Hum.* Lib. i. cap. 2, sqq. DAVIES. Comp. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. i.: "quod "est genus hominum, quod non ha-  
"beat sine doctrina anticipationem  
"quandam Deorum, quam appellat  
"πρόδηλψις Epicurus, id est, ante-  
"ceptam animo rei quandam infor-  
"mationem" ... and again, "insitas  
"eorum et innatas cognitiones habe-  
"mus."

<sup>26</sup> qui Jovem principem volunt, sc. Deorum esse statuant. Augustin. *de consens. Evang.* Lib. i. c. 22: "Varro deum Judæorum Jovem putavit, nihil interesse censens, quo nomine nuncupetur, dum eadem res intelligatur." ELMENHORST.

Ch. XIX. <sup>1</sup> unum patrem divum atque hominum. These words are a quotation from a passage of Ennius, given in Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 2, 26.

<sup>2</sup> qualem parens omnium diem duxerit. The MS. reading is not direxerit as several editors tell us, but duxxerit ("scriptura paulum ex-

CAP.XIX. *rit.* Quid Mantuanus Maro? nonne apertius,<sup>2</sup>  
 witnesses to  
 the truth;<sup>3</sup> proximius, verius? <sup>4</sup> *Principio*, ait, *cælum*, et *terræ*,  
*et cetera mundi membra spiritus intus alit, et infusa*  
*mens agitat. Inde hominum pecudumque genus, et* <sup>3</sup>  
*quidquid aliud animalium.* <sup>5</sup> Idem alio loco men-  
 tem istam et spiritum Deum nominat. Hæc enim  
 verba sunt:

—*Deum namque ire per omnes*

*Terrasque tractusque maris, cælumque profundum.*  
<sup>6</sup> *unde homines, et pecudes, unde imber et ignes.*  
<sup>7</sup> Quid aliud et a nobis Deus, quam mens et ratio  
 et spiritus prædicatur? Recenseamus, si placet, <sup>4</sup>

and so do  
 the various

errante," as Rigaltius remarks): for which it has been proposed to read *induxerit*, or *eduixerit*, or *direxerit*, by those who misapprehended the author's meaning, and did not see that *qualem diem duxerit* is a translation of the words *οἷον ἐκάγγησεν ἡμαρ,* which occur in Homer, *Odyss.* xviii. 136:

*τοῖος γὰρ νῶς ἔστιν ἐπιχθοίων ἀνθρώπων,*  
*οἷον ἐν τῷ ἡμαρ ἐγγέσι πετῆρι ἀνδρῶν το-*  
*θεῖαι τι.*

which lines are thus translated by Cicero ap. Augustin. *de Civ. Dei*, v. 8:

Tales sunt hominum mentes, quales pater ipse

Jupiter auctiferas lustravit lumine terræ.

i. e., as Rigaltius explains, talis est mens, qualis dies, quo die mens edita est.

<sup>8</sup> *proximius* sc. ad rem, "quod præsentioris sit fidei," *GEONOVIVS.* cf. Oehler on Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxiii. n. y. *Verius*, "more thoroughly": non in sensu morali et qualitatibus, sed ratione modi et quantitatis sumendum: Bünenmann on Lactantius, iv.

30. 14. Cf. infra cap. xxxvi. § 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Principio* *cælum* etc. *Aeneid.* Lib. vi. 724—729.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem alio loco.* *Georg.* iv. 221.

<sup>6</sup> *Unde homines.* *Aen.* i. 743.

These passages are remarkable as containing an exposition of the system of Pythagoras: concerning which see a passage from Cicero, quoted below, note 15.

<sup>7</sup> *quid aliud* etc. Comp. Seneca *Nat. Quest.* i. "Quid est Deus? mens universi?"

<sup>8</sup> *disciplinas*, 'sects.' This is Heumann's correction. The MS. has *disciplinam*. Cf. Bünenmann ad Lactant. *D. I.* ii. 8. 48. This account of the tenets of the heathen philosophers is mostly a transcript of Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* i. 10, sqq.

<sup>9</sup> *de suis dictis*: 'because of their sayings.' Comp. Propert. i. 5. 26: *de tanto nomine rumor erit;*

i. e. propterea quod tantum sit tibi nomen. Hand, *Turcell.* II. p. 216.

<sup>10</sup> *Thales Mileensis.* Θαλῆς δὲ πρῶτος παραδέδοται τὴν περὶ φύ-  
 σεως λογότην τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐκφῆ-

<sup>8</sup>disciplinas philosophorum; deprehendes eos, etsi CAP.XIX.  
sermonibus variis, ipsis tamen rebus in hanc unam  
coire et conspirare sententiam.

5 Omitto illos rudes et veteres, qui <sup>9</sup>de suis dictis  
sapientes esse meruerunt. Sit <sup>10</sup>Thales Milesius  
omnium primus, qui primus omnium de celestibus  
disputavit. Idem Milesius Thales rerum initium  
aquam dixit: Deum autem eam mentem, quæ ex  
aqua cuncta formaverit. <sup>11</sup>*En* altior et sublimior  
aqua et spiritus ratio, quam ut ab homine potuerit  
inveniri: a Deo traditum. Vides philosophi principa-  
6 lis nobiscum penitus opinionem consonare. <sup>12</sup>Anaxi-

sects of philo-  
sophers in  
their cosmogonic theories,  
though their  
notion of God  
is imperfect,  
and corrupt.

*vat.* Simplicius in Lib. i. *Physic.*  
*Aristot.*: Thales Milesius, qui  
primus de talibus rebus quesivit,  
aquam dixit esse initium rerum,  
Deum autem eam mentem, quæ ex  
aqua cuncta fingeret, Cicero, *N.D.*  
i. 10: cf. Lactant. *D. I.* i. 5, § 16:  
Plutarch *de Plac. Philos.* i. c. 3: Eu-  
sebius, *Præpar. Evang.* xiv. 18, x. 4.  
Augustine de *C. D.* viii. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *En* altior et sublimior aqua et  
spiritus ratio. For *eo*, the MS. read-  
ing, I have taken the liberty to sub-  
stitute *en*, which it is strange that  
none of the commentators should  
have thought of, while they have run  
into all sorts of conjectures, as *echo!*  
(Rigaltius, Davies) *et* (Heraldus),  
*exactior* (Gronovius MS. notes), or  
supposed a transposition of the whole  
sentence after *consonare*, or have  
pronounced the whole sentence a  
gloss, as Gronovius. *Obs. Eccl.* p. 80.  
“Est ἐκφώνημα παρενθετικόν”:  
says Davies, “respxit autem Minu-  
cius ad *Genes.* cap. 1, 2.” So Le  
Nouvy remarks: “Poterat discere  
“ab Ἑgyptiis, quibuscum congressus

“fuerat, Ἐgyptii autem a Mose et  
hic a Deo illud acceperat: quo Moses  
“loco Baptismum præsignificari  
“censuerunt evett. Christianis multi.  
“Tertullianus *de Baptism.* cap. 4:  
“Hieronymus *adv. Luciferianos,*  
“Tom. iv. col. 292: *Spiritus*, inquit  
“Moses, domini ferebatur super  
“aqua. Ex quo apparet Baptisma  
“non esse sine Spiritu Sancto.”  
Translate: “Let me tell you, this  
account of water and spirit was a  
notion too profound and too lofty  
for human discovery: it was a thing  
revealed of God.”

<sup>12</sup> *Anaximenes*: Cic. l. c.: “Anax-  
imenes aëra deum statuit, eumque  
gigni esseque immensum et infinitum  
et semper in motu.” Cf. Lac-  
tant. l. c. § 19: Augustine *Confess.*  
x. 6. Stobæus, *Ecl. Physic.* cap. ii.  
[Ἀναξιμένος πνεῦμα, Max. Tyr.  
dial. xvi. p. 93, et quod ibi dicit ille  
ipse, nunc quoque significat Octa-  
vius; τὰ πολλὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων  
στρατόπεδα διτίτεταγμένα δλλή-  
λοις καὶ διτίταιωντα λόγων  
μὲν πάντα μεστὰ καὶ ψιθυρισμάτων

CAP.XIX menes deinceps, et post <sup>13</sup> Apolloniates Diogenes, aëra Deum statuunt, infinitum et immensum. Horum quoque similis de divinitate consensio est. <sup>14</sup>Anaxagoræ vero descriptio et motus infinitæ 7 mentis Deus dicitur. Et <sup>15</sup>Pythagoræ Deus est animus, per universam rerum naturam commenans et intentus: ex quo etiam animalium omnium vita capiatur. <sup>16</sup>Xenophanem notum est, 8 omne infinitum cum mente Deum tradere: et

*σοφιστῶν σοφισταῖς συμπικτόν-  
των. J. GR.]*

<sup>13</sup> *Apolloniates*: Vide Index l. s. v. Cic. l. c. cap. xii.: Quid aér, quo Diogenes Apolloniates utitur Deo, quem sensum habere potest, aut quam formam Dei? *Augustin. de Civ. Dei*, viii. 2: Diogenes quoque, Anaximenes alter auditor, aërem quidem dixit rerum esse materiam, de qua omnia fierent, sed eum esse compotem divinas rationis, sine qua nihil ex eo fieri posset. *Horum quoque similis etc.*: "And their concurring opinion as to the deity resembles ours."

<sup>14</sup> *Anaxagoræ*: φίσιν Ἀναξαγόρας ὁμοῦ πάντων ὅτων καὶ πρεμούντων τὸν δάκερον χρόνον, κίνησιν ἐμποιήσαι τὸν νοῦν καὶ διακρίναι: Aristot. *Phys. Auct. Lib. viii. o. 1*: τῆς δὲ κινήσεως καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αἰτίου ἀπέστησε τὸν νοῦν ὁ Ἀναξαγόρας, ὡφ' οὐ διακρινόμενα τούς τε κύρσους καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀλλων φύσιν ἔγεννησεν: Simplic. in Lib. i. *Physic. Aristot.*: πάντα χοήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἴτε νοῦς ἐλθών αὐτὰ δικόσμησεν.....καὶ νοῦς ἀρχὴ κινήσεως: Diogen. Laert. Lib. ii. 3. 4: Cicero, l. c. cap. xi: Anaxagoras primus omnium rerum descriptionem et motum (*al. modum*) mentis infinitæ vi ac ratione designari et con-

fici voluit.

<sup>15</sup> *Pythagoræ*. Cic. l. c. cap. 11: "Pythagoras censuit, animum esse per naturam rerum omnem intentum et commeantem, ex quo nostri animi carperentur." Unde idem statuit; διθράσκων εἶναι πρὸς θεοὺς συγγενεῖν et εἶναι τὴν ψύχην ἀπόσκαψαι αἰθέρον, Diog. Laert. viii. 1. 19; Lactant. *D. I.* l. v. 17.

<sup>16</sup> *Xenophanem*: Cic. l. c.: Xenophanes, mente adjuncta, omne præterea, quod esset infinitum, Deum voluit esse: Diog. Laert. ix. 2. 3: φίσις δὲ τέτταρα εἶναι τῶν ὄντων στοιχεῖα κόσμους δὲ ἀπειρον. LINDEM. Vid. Euseb. *Prep. Evang.* xiii. 18; Theodoret. *Gr. Agg. Curi.* p. 57, 3; p. 58, 36.

<sup>17</sup> *Antisthenem*. Cicero, ib. cap. xiii: Antisthenes in eo libro, qui *physicus* inscribitur, populares Deos multos, naturalem unum esse dicena, tollit vim et naturam Deorum: Lactant. *Inst. i. 5*, 18: *de Ira Dei*, xi. § 14.

<sup>18</sup> *Speusippum*: Cicero, l. c. "Speusippus, Platonem avunculum subsequens et vim quandam dicens, qua omnia regantur, eamque animalem, evellere ex animis conatur cognitionem deorum." *Deum nosse*, "recognised as God," "to be God."

<sup>19</sup> *Democritus*. Cicero, ib. cap. xii: Democritus tum imagines,

<sup>17</sup> Antisthenem, populares Deos multos, sed natu- CAP.XIX.  
ralem unum præcipuum: <sup>18</sup> Speusippum vim natu-  
ralem animalem, qua omnia regantur, Deum nosse.  
<sup>9</sup> Quid <sup>19</sup> Democritus? quamvis atomorum primus  
inventor, nonne plerumque naturam, <sup>20</sup> quæ imagines  
fundat, et intelligentiam Deum loquitur? <sup>21</sup> Strat-  
ton quoque et ipse naturam: etiam Epicurus ille,  
qui <sup>22</sup> deos aut otiosos fingit aut nulos, naturam  
<sup>10</sup> tamen superponit. <sup>23</sup> Aristoteles variat, et adsignat

earumque naturam in deorum nu-  
mero refert; tum illam naturam,  
quæ imagines fundat ac mittat: tum  
scientiam intelligentiamque nostram.  
Cf. c. 43, *de Finn.* i. 15: Augustine  
*Ep.* 118, p. 340.

*atomorum primus inventor.* Lactan-  
tius ascribes the discovery of the  
Atomic theory to Leucippus, "a quo  
Democritus eruditus heredita-  
tem stultitiae reliquit Epicuro." *Div.*  
*Inst.* iii. 17. 23. Cf. Cic. *Ep. ad Div.*  
xx. 16. *Intelligentiam*, i. e. ἔννοιαν,  
πρόληψιν, "innate conception."

<sup>20</sup> quæ imagines fundat. Simu-  
lacula, εἰδῶλα, quibus incidentibus  
visum peragi Democritus existimavit.  
Diogen. Laert. lib. ix. § 44: Δημο-  
κρίτῳ δοκεῖ δρᾶν ημᾶς καὶ εἰδώ-  
λων ἐμπτώσεις: Cic. *de Divin.*  
lib. ii.; N. D. i. 12. DAVIES.

<sup>21</sup> *Straton et ipse naturam*: sc.  
Deum esse loquitur. At quam tan-  
dem naturam? Audi Ciceronem *N.D.*  
Lib. i. cap. 13: "Strato, ia, qui  
physicus appellatur, omnem vim di-  
vinam in natura sitam esse censet,  
quæ causas cognoscendi, augendi, mi-  
nuendi habeat: sed caret omni  
sensu et figura." Lactantius, *de  
Ira Dei*, c. x. § 1: Naturam vero,  
ut ait Straton, habere in se vim  
cognoscendi et minuendi: sed eam  
nec sensum habere ullum, nec

figuram. Hinc Straton Maximo  
Tyrio *Diss.* 1. ὑπάλλαξαι Θεοῦ  
φύσιν dicitur. Pariter Seneca refert  
hunc fecisse *Deum sine animo*. Vide  
sis Augustinum *Civ. D.* lib. vi. c. 10.  
Quæ cum ita sint, immerito prorsus  
iis accensetur, qui unitatem pro-  
videntiam defendunt. Purus pu-  
tus erat Atheus, et de providentia  
vel unius vel plurium ne minime qui-  
dem somniavit. DAVIES.

<sup>22</sup> *deos aut otiosos fingit aut nulos.* Τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἀφθαρτὸν οὐτε  
αὐτὸν πράγματα ἔχει, οὐτε ἀλλω  
παρέχει. But the opinion that God  
does not concern himself in the go-  
vernment of the world must una-  
voidably terminate in *absolute athe-  
ism*, as is demonstrated by Clark,  
*Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Religion*, p.  
157, sqq.: Hence Cicero says of him:  
verbis reliquit deos, re sustulit:  
*de Nat. Deor.* i. 30. *Naturam tamen  
superponit.* Absone quidem Minucius  
Epicurum nobis ingerit, cum id  
agat ut monstraret nobiliores philoso-  
phos unum modo rerum omnium  
moderatorem statuisse: nam natura,  
quemadmodum ille censuit, non  
vivens erat ac sentiens, sed atomi  
tantum pro variis concursibus hoc  
vel illud efficienes. Vide Ciceron.  
*N. D.* lib. i. c. 20. DAVIES.

<sup>23</sup> *Aristoteles.* Cicero, *i. c. cap.*

CAP.XIX. tamen unam potestatem. Nam interim mentem, mundum interim Deum dicit, interim mundo Deum præficit. <sup>24</sup> Heraclides Ponticus quoque Deo divinam mentem, quamvis varie, adscribit. <sup>25</sup> Theophrastus, 11 et Zenon, et Chrysippus, et Cleanthes, sunt et ipsi multiformes, sed ad unitatem providentiae omnes revolvuntur. <sup>26</sup> Cleanthes enim mentem, modo animalium, modo ætherea, plerumque rationem Deum disseruit. <sup>27</sup> Zenon, ejusdem magister, naturalem 12 legem atque divinam, et ætherea interim, interdumque rationem, vult omnium esse principium. Idem interpretando Junonem aëra, Jovem cœlum, Nep-

xiii: "Aristoteles multa turbat, a magistro Platone uno dissentientis: modo enim menti tribuit omnem divinitatem: modo mundum ipsum Deum dicit esse: modo quandam alium præficit mundo": Lactant. I. 5. 22: Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* xv. 4: Plutarch, *de Placit. Phil.* cap. vii. Vid. Aristot. *de gener.* c. ii; *de divin.* c. xii; *de mundo,* c. vii. *Interim—interim,* i. q. modo—modo: so below, § 12: in this sense it is not found till the age of Quintilian: Hand, *Turcell.* iii. p. 427. *Interim* and *interdum* in later writers interchange meaning: comp. ch. xxvii. § 1. Hildebrand, *Apulej. Metam.* Vol. i. p. 139.

<sup>24</sup> *Heraclides Ponticus:* Cicero, l. c.: Ponticus Heraclides modo mundum, tum mentem divinam esse putat: errantibus enim stellis divinitatem tribuit, sensuque Deum privat, et ejus formam mutabilem esse vult. Before Heraclides the MS. has the following sentence inserted: *Aristoteles Ponticus variat, alias mundo, alias menti divinae tribuens principatum:* which some editors, as

Davies, retain, transposing them after *adscribit*, with the omission, of course, of the three first words.

<sup>25</sup> *Theophrastus.* Cicero, l. c.: "neq; vero Theophrasti inconstantia ferenda est: modo enim menti divinum tribuit principatum: modo cœlum: tum autem signis sideribus coelestibus."

<sup>26</sup> *Cleanthes:* Cicero, l. c. cap. xiv: "Cleanthes autem, qui Zenonem audivit, tum ipsum mundum Deum dicit esse: tum totius naturæ menti atque animo tribuit hoc nomen: tum ultimum et altissimum atque undique circumfusum, extremum omnia cingentem atque complexum ardorem, qui aether nominetur, certissimum Deum judicat"; and "nihil ratione censem esse divinus". Lactant. D. I. c. 5. 19; Tertullian *Apolog.* c. 21.

<sup>27</sup> *Zeno:* Cicero, l. l. cap. xiv: Zeno naturalem legem divinam esse censem, eamque vim obtinere recta imperantem, prohibentemque contraria.—Alio loco æthera Deum dicit—Quum vero Hesiodi theogoniam interpretatur tollit omnino usitatas

tunum mare, ignem esse Vulcanum, et ceteros CAP.XIX.  
 similiter vulgi deos elementa esse monstrando, pub-  
 13 licum arguit graviter et revincit errorem. <sup>28</sup>Eadem  
 fere Chrysippus, vim divinam, rationalem naturam,  
 et mundum interim, et fatalem necessitatem Deum  
 credit, Zenonemque interpretatione physiologiæ in  
 Hesiodi, Homeri, Orpheique carminibus imitatur.  
 14 <sup>29</sup>Babylonio etiam Diogeni disciplina est exponendi  
 et disserendi, Jovis partum, et ortum Minervæ, et  
 hoc genus cetera, rerum vocabula esse, non deo-  
 15 rum. <sup>30</sup>Nam Socratus Xenophon formam Dei veri  
 negat videri posse et ideo quæri non oportere.

perceptasque cognitiones Deorum ;  
 neque enim Jovem, neque Junonem,  
 neque Vestam neque quenquam, qui  
 ita appellatur, in Deorum habet  
 numero, sed rebus inanimis atque  
 mutis per quandam significationem  
 hæc docet tributa nomina. Comp.  
 Diogen. Laert. vii. §§ 135, 147.  
 Tertullian. *adv. Marcion.* i. 13. *In-*  
*terim—interdum* : see note 23.

*interpretando Junonem æra etc.*  
 Comp. Cic. *N. D.* ii. c. xxvi: ær  
 autem, ut Stoici disputant, interjec-  
 tus inter mare et cœlum, Junonis  
 nomine consecratu: Athenag. *leg.*  
*pro Chr.* p. 23. § xviii: Ζεύς η ζέοντα  
 οὐσία κατὰ τὸν Στροκόντην Ἡρα,  
 δὲ διῆρ καὶ τοῦ δυόματος, εἰ αὐτὸν  
 αὐτῷ ἐπισυνάπτοιτο συνεκφωνο-  
 μένου· Ποσειδῶν, ή πόσις: Clem.  
 Alex. *Protrept.* c. v. § 84, p. 56 ed.  
 Potter: Plutarch, *de Plac. Philos.*  
 lib. i. c. vii.

<sup>28</sup> eadem fere Chrysippus, sc. cre-  
 dit. A similar observation is made  
 by Cicero, *l. l. xv*: Chrysippus ait  
 vim divinam in ratione esse positam  
 et universæ nature animo atque  
 mente: ipsumque mundum deum

esse dicit; tum fatalem vim et ne-  
 cessitatem rerum futurarum nuncu-  
 pat. Comp. Lactant. i. 5. 20, and  
 see Diog. Laert. lib. vii.; Plutarch,  
*de Plac. Phil.* chh. vii, viii.

<sup>29</sup> Babylonio etiam Diogeni: Cice-  
 ro *ibid.* : "in eo libro, qui inscribitur  
 de Minerva, partum Jovis, ortumque  
 virginis ad Physiologiam traducens  
 disjungit a fabula." *Disciplina est*  
*exponendi*, 'his system is to explain.'  
 Some observations on the various  
 meanings of *disciplina* will be found  
 in Dr Woodham's Tertullian, *Apol.*  
 ch. xxxv. p. 118. *Ceterarum rerum*  
*vocabula* is the MS. reading, for  
 which Gronovius in his unpublished  
 notes suggests: *cetera tum rerum*,  
 i. e. tantum.

<sup>30</sup> nam ... Xenophon. "For as  
 to Xenophon, I need not tell you  
 that he as a pupil of Socrates &c." On  
 the use of *nam* see Hand's *Tur-*  
*sellinus*, Vol. iv. p. 9. "Respicit ad  
 hæc Socratis verba, quæ leguntur  
 apud Xenophontem *Mem.* lib. iv.  
 cap. 3, § 13: θτι δέ γε ἀληθῆ λέγω  
 καὶ σὺ γνόσῃ, ἀν μη διαμένης, θτος  
 ἀν τὰς μορφὰς τῶν θεῶν ιδῆς"

CAP.XIX. <sup>31</sup>Aristo Chius, comprehendi omnino non posse. Uterque majestatem Dei, intelligendi desperatione, senserunt. Platonii apertior de Deo, <sup>32</sup>et rebus ipsis 16 et nominibus oratio est: et quæ tota esset cœlestis, <sup>33</sup>nisi persuasionis civilis nonnunquam admixtione sordesceret. Platonii itaque <sup>34</sup>in Timæo Deus est 17 ipso suo nomine mundi parens, artifex animæ, cœlestium terrenorumque fabricator: quem et invenire difficile præ nimia et incredibili potestate et quum inveneris, in publicum dicere impossibile præfatur. Eadem fere et ista quæ nostra sunt. 18

ἀλλ' ἔξαρκῆ σοι, τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν δρῶστι, σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν Θεόν. Vide Ciceron. *Nat. Deor.* i.12; Lactantium de *Ira Dei* [cap. ii. 5]; cap. xi. [§ 13].” DAVIES.

<sup>31</sup> Aristó: Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* i. 14; Aristó neque formam Dei intelligi posse censet, neque in diis sensum esse dicit, dubitatque omnino Deus animans necne sit.

<sup>32</sup> et rebus ipsis et nominibus. Vult Minucius, Platonem non vero tantum nomine sed et rectis attributis summum Numen insigniisse, cum Deum factorem parentemque omnium prædicat. Vide sis Clementem *Recogn.* lib. viii. cap. 20. DAVIES. *Celestis oratio* is, as Lindner explains, “oratio cœlesti revelationi consentanea, christiana.”

<sup>33</sup> nisi persuasionis civilis admixtione sordesceret, ‘were it not here and there debased by a mixture of popular prejudices,’ h.e. had he not complied too far with the vanities of his fellow-citizens, and alloyed his discourses with the errors in fashion. LE NOURRY. Hence Justin Martyr, *Cohort.* p. 21, says of him: τοὺς τὴν πολυθεότητα

δοκιαζομένους δεδιώς τὰ ἐναντία εαυτῷ τὸν κατ' αὐτὸν δημιουργὸν εἰσάγει λέγοντα. Cf. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* xiii. 14.

<sup>34</sup> in Timæo. The following is the passage referred to: τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὐρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν: *Timæ.* § 9, p. 28. Origen, c. *Cels.* lib. vii. p. 360, enters into a full examination of Plato's meaning in this passage, which had been made use of by Celsius against the Christians. Atheneagoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* p. 6, after quoting the passage and adding that Plato meant ἡνα δγέννητον καλαΐδιον θεόν, sums up thus: εἰ τοινυ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄθεος Πλάτων ἕνα τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν δλων νοῶν ἀγέννητον θεόν: οὐδὲ ήμεῖς ἄθεος, ὑφ' οὐ λόγῳ δεδημιουργηται καὶ τῷ παρ' αὐτὸν πνεύματι δθνέχεται τὰ πάντα, τούτον εἰδότες καὶ κρατοῦντες θεόν: i. e. “If then Plato is not an atheist, when he conceives the Creator of the Universe to be one; neither are we atheists, in recognising and holding fast that being as God, by whose word all things were

Nam et Deum novimus, et parentem omnium dici- CAP.XIX.  
mus et numquam publice, nisi interrogati, prædi-  
camus.

Exposui opiniones omnium ferme philosopho- CAP.XX.  
rum, quibus illustrior gloria est, <sup>1</sup>Deum unum  
multis licet designasse nominibus: ut quivis arbitretur, aut nunc Christianos philosophos esse, aut  
<sup>2</sup> philosophos fuisse jam tunc Christianos. Quodsi  
providentia mundus regitur, et unius Dei nutu  
gubernatur, <sup>2</sup>non nos debet antiquitas imperitorum,  
fabellis suis delectata vel capta, ad errorem mutui

We should  
not plead  
antiquity in  
defence of  
the popular  
belief when  
it can neither  
stand the test  
of reason,  
and is contra-  
dicted by a  
long array of  
philosophers  
from the  
earliest times:

created, as by his spirit they are sustained." Comp. Justin Martyr, *Apolo-* ii. § xi.; Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* cap. vi. § 64, p. 59 ed. Potter: πῦ δὴ οὐν ἐξιχνητέον τὸν θεόν, ὁ Πλάτων; τὸν γέρα πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τούδε τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργουν καὶ εὐρόντα εἰς ἀπαντας ἐξεπειν  
ἀδύνατον. διὰ τί δῆτα; ὃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἥρτεον γέρα οὐδαμῶς ἀστίν· εὖ γε, ὁ Πλάτων, ἐπαφαῖς τῆς ἀληθείας· δλλά μὴ ἀποκαμψε. Ἐννοιοι λαβοῦν τῆς ζητήσεως τάγαθού πάρει· πᾶσιν γάρ ἀπαξατλώς θυ-  
θρώποις, μάλιστα δε τοῖς περὶ λόγουν ἐνδιατρίβουσιν ἐνέστακται τις ἀπόρροια θεική, οὐ διὰ χάριν καὶ δικούτες μὲν ὄμολογούσιν ὅτα τε εἶναι Θεόν, ἀνώλεθρον καὶ δύεν-  
τρον τοῦτον, διων ποὺ περὶ τα-  
νότα τοῦ οὐρανού ἐν τῇ ίδιᾳ καὶ οἰκείᾳ περιωπῇ ὄντως ὄντα δε. Euseb. *Præpar. Evang.* Lib. xiii. cap. 14: Lactant. *de Fals. Relig.* viii. 1: "Hic igitur tot et tantis tes-  
tibus comprobatur unius Dei potes-  
tate ac providentia mundum guber-  
nari, cuius vim, majestatemque tan-  
tam esse dicit in *Timœo* Plato, ut  
eam neque mente concipere neque

verbis enarrare quisquam possit ob-  
nimiam et inestimabilem potesta-  
tem": *de Ira Dei*, c. xi. Tertul-  
lian, *Apol.* c. xlvi.: "licet Plato  
affirmet factitatem universitatis  
neque inveniri facilem et inventum  
enarrari difficultem in omnes." Comp.  
Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. i. p. 34.

Ch. XX. <sup>1</sup> *Deum unum etc.* This sentence is an exegesis of the one preceding: "I have set forth the opinions of the most eminent philosophers; to wit that they, etc." A similar observation is made by Augustine *de Vera Relig.* cap. iv: "itaque si hanc vitam illi viri nobis-  
cum rursum agere potuissent, vide-  
rent profecto cujus anctoritate faci-  
lius consideretur hominibus et paucis  
mutatis verbis atque sententiis  
Christiani fierent, sicut plerique  
sequentiorum nostrorumque tem-  
porum Platonici fecerunt". Comp.  
Athenag. *Legat. pro Chr.* p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *non nos debet antiquitas impe-  
ritorum etc.*, "the ignorant and un-  
"educated part of antiquity, charmed  
"and captivated as they were with  
"their own pretty fables, ought not  
"to hurry us into a participation

**CAP. XX.** rapere consensus: quum philosophorum suorum sententiis refellatur, quibus et rationis et vetustatis adsistit auctoritas. Majoribus enim nostris <sup>3</sup> tam facilis in mendaciis fides fuit, ut temere crediderint etiam alia monstruosa <sup>3</sup> mira miracula: Scyllam multiplicem, chimæram multiformem et hydram felicibus vulneribus renascentem et Centauros, equos suis hominibus implexos: et quidquid famæ licet fingere, <sup>4</sup> illis erat libenter audire. Quid? illas <sup>4</sup> aniles fabulas, de hominibus aves et <sup>5</sup> feras omnes, et de hominibus arbores atque flores; quæ si essent facta, fierent; <sup>6</sup> quia fieri non possunt, ideo nec facta sunt. <sup>7</sup> Similiter vero, ac erga deos quoque majores <sup>5</sup> nostri improvidi, creduli, rudi simplicitate credi-

shewed no less crudelity in investing the worthies of their times with the dignity and title of gods out of affection for their memory.

"in error, especially when they are confuted by the opinions of their own *philosophers*, who have the support of reason as well as the prestige of antiquity." Comp. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* c. x. § 89, p. 72 ed. *Potter. Antiquitas imperitorum*, for imperiti antiquitatis & antiquorum: see note on ch. vi. § 5. Comp. *Sallust. Catil.* c. viii: scriptorum magna ingenia, 'writers of great genius.' [Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* iv. v. 203: pro magna teste vetustas creditur. J. GR.]

<sup>3</sup> *mira miracula*, 'incredible prodigies.' Davies defends the MS. reading by instancing similar expressions, as; *gratas gratias*, Apulej. *Metam.* I. c. xx: IX. c. xiii: *merum merum*, Auson. *Epigr.* 20: *mala malitia*, Plaut. *Aulul.* Act. II. Sc. ii. v. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *illis erat libenter audire*, h.e. libenter audiebant. Propertius I. xx. 13:

Ne tibi sit duro montes et frigida sara  
Galle, nec expertes semper adire lacus,  
ubi ne tibi sit adire, est, ne velias  
adire. LINDNER.

<sup>5</sup> *feras omnes*, 'animals of all kinds.' The MS. has *homines*. I have adopted the correction proposed by Hildebrand. ad Apulej. *Metam.* p.1001. *De hominibus*, i. q. ex *hominibus*; Bünemann ad *Lactant.* p. 608.

<sup>6</sup> *quia fieri non possunt*. Hod axiomatice monstruosa Poetarum fabulas et Ethnici jugularunt. Palæophatus de *Incred. Præfat.*: αἱ (μορφαὶ) νῦν οὐκ εἰσὶ, τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ ἔγένετο, εἰ γάρ τότε καὶ ἀλλοτε ἔγένετο καὶ νῦν τε γίγνεται καὶ αὖθις ἔσται. Ita tamen certum et perpetuum non est hoc enunciatum, quin cautione sit opus, ne in rem suam id deflectant profani. DAVIES, Comp. ch. xxiii. § 5.

<sup>7</sup> *similiter vero ac*, "just in sooth, as in respect of the gods also." On

derunt: dum reges suos colunt religiose, dum de- CAP. XX.  
 functos eos desiderant in imaginibus videre, dum  
 gestiunt eorum memorias in statuis detinere; sacra  
 6 facta sunt, quæ fuerant adsumpta solatia. Denique  
 et antequam commerciis orbis pateret, et ante-  
 quam gentes ritus suos moresque miscerent, una-  
 quæque natio conditorem suum, aut ducem inclu-  
 tum, aut reginam pudicam sexu suo fortiorem, aut  
 alicujus <sup>8</sup>muneris vel artis repertorem venerabatur,  
 ut civem bonæ memoriarum: sic et defunctis præmium  
 et futuris dabatur exemplum.

Lege <sup>1</sup>Stoicorum scripta vel scripta sapientium, CAP.XXI  
 2 eadem mecum recognoscet. Ob merita virtutis aut  
 munieris deos habitos, <sup>2</sup>Euhemerus exsequitur; et

this sense of *erga*, see Hand's *Tur- sell.* ii. 439. [Fortasse, ac simili ve- terno, ut similis transpositio, xix. § 10, alias etc.: 'æruginosi animi veternum,' ad Senec. p. 276. J. GR.] For the argument, comp. Cic. *de N.D.* ii. 24; Lactant. i. cap. viii. § 8; cap. xv.; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ii. 7; Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* i. 9. p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> munieris vel artis repertorem. Cf. Lactant. *Inst. Div.* i. xi. 45; xv. 2; xviii. tot.: vii. xiv. 1: Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* i. 6. *Reginam:* [ut deos deasque notaret, quum τὸ δῆρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ παρὰ θεοῖς, inquiunt Hipparchus ap. Suidam; Lucian. in *Tox. 4B.* J. GR.]

Ch. XXI. <sup>1</sup>Stoicorum: Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus. Cic. *de N.D.* ii. 24. *Vel scripta sapientium,* "or the records of other sages." See above cap. xiii. § 3 and comp. below ch. xxvi. § 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Euhemerus.* Vide Index s. v.

Lactant. *Inst. i. xi. 33:* antiquus auctor Euhemerus, qui fuit ex civitate Messanæ, res gestas Jovis et ceterorum qui dii putantur collegit historiamque contextuit ex titulis et inscriptionibus sacris, quæ in antiquissimis templis habebantur..... Hanc historiam et interpretationem est Ennius et secutus; cf. Cic. *de Nat. D.* i. 42: Arnob. *adv. nat.* lib. iv. c. 29; Augustine *de C. D.* vi. 7; vii. 26; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* ii. 4; Clem. Alexandr. *Protrept.* p. 20; Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osirid.* cap. xxiii. V. *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript.* Vol viii; Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 29.

*Exsequitur*, "pursues his theory." *Dictæ Jovis Sepulcrum.* Comp. Theoph. *ad Aut.* ii. 7; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* § 37, p. 32 ed. Potter; Origen. c. *Cels.* Lib. iii. p. 137: Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* iii. 10, and on the epithet *Dictæ*, Virgil *Georg.* iv. 152; Lucret. ii. 637.

Testimony of writers be-  
longing to  
the school of  
the Stoics  
to the fact  
that their  
gods were

CAP.XXI. eorum natales, patrias, sepulcra dinumerat et per provincias monstrat: Dictæi Jovis et Apollinis Delphici et Phariæ Isidis et Cereris Eleusinæ. <sup>3</sup> Prodigus adsumtos in deos loquitur, qui errando, inventis novis frugibus, utilitati hominum profuere. In eandem sententiam et <sup>4</sup> Persæus philosophatur, et adnectit inventas fruges et frugum ipsarum repertores iisdem nominibus, ut Comicus sermo est: *Venerem sine Libero et Cerere frigere.* <sup>5</sup> Alexander ille magnus Macedo insigni volumine ad matrem

but deified heroes: and exposure of the absurdity and vanity displayed in the worship of several of them.

<sup>3</sup> *Prodicus.* The MS. has *prodigiis.* Cicero, *de N.D.* i. 42: Quid? *Prodicus Chius,* qui ea que prodessent hominum vites, Deorum in numero habita esse dixit, quam tandem religionem reliquit?

<sup>4</sup> *Persæus.* Cicero, *I. c.* 15: *Persæus Zenonis auditor, eos dicit esse habitos deos, a quibus magna utilitas ad vitæ cultum esset inventa, ipsasque res utiles deorum vocabulis esse nuncupatas ut ne hoc quidem diceret illa inventa esse deorum, sed ipsa divina.* Comp. *ibid.* ii. 23, and Diog. Laert. vii. § 18, § 54; Athenæ. *Deipnos.* Lib. iv. cap. 17; Athenag. *leg. pro Chr.* p. 24. cap. 19: τὰ στυχεῖα καὶ τὰ μόρια θεοποιῶσι, ἀλλότε ἀλλα ὄνόματα αὐτοῖς τιθέμενοι· τὴν μὲν τοῦ σίτου σποράν "Οστριών" τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἀμπέλου καρπὸν Διόνυσον: Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* § 26, p. 22 Potter: οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς φυομένων τοὺς ημέρους δρεπόμενοι καρπὸν, Δῆν τὸν σῖτον, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Διόνυσον τὴν ἀμπελον, ὡς Θηβαῖοι, προσηγόρευσαν.

Comicus sermo est. Terence, *Eunuch.* Act. iv. Sc. 5, v. 5; quoted Cicero, *N. D.* ii. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Alexander.* Athenagoras men-

tions this epistle of Alexander, the son of Philip, to his mother Olympias, concerning the priests' way of making gods of men, and quotes a passage out of Herodotus to the same purpose, *Leg. pro Christ.* p. 31, cap. xxiv. So does Augustine *de Civ. Dei.* viii. 5. 27: xii. 10; *de Consens. Evang.* i. 23; and Cyprian, *de Id. Van.* c. ii. 2. Rigaltius, Jablonsky, and others, regard the letter as a forgery in favour of Christianity; but Bp Fell settles the questions by appealing to the testimony of a heathen, viz. Plutarch *Vit. Alexandr.* Tom. ii. p. 680; Cyprian, p. 12 *ed. Oxon.* Comp. Fabricius *Bibl. Gr.* ii. 10. 17.

<sup>6</sup> *sacerdote:* particularised under the name of Leo by Augustin, *C. D.* viii. 5. There is mention made of one Leo Pellæus by Arnobius, iv. 29; and Tatian, *or. c. Gr.* § 27; Clem. Alex. *Stromm.* i. c. 21, § 106. *Illi:* sc. Alexandro: or perhaps another form of *illic*, sc. in epistola.

<sup>7</sup> *Vulcanum.* The same as Phtha in the Egyptian mythology. "Ἐνιοι δε τῶν λεπέων φασὶ πρῶτον" Η φατστον βασιλεῦσαι, πυρὸς εὑρέτην γενόμενον. Diodor. Sic. i. 15.

suam scripsit, metu suæ potestatis proditum sibi de CAP.XXI.  
 diis hominibus a <sup>6</sup>sacerdote secretum: illi <sup>7</sup>Vulca-  
 num facit omnium principem et postea Jovis gen-  
 tem. <sup>8</sup>Et despice sis Isidis ad hirundinem, sistrum  
 et ad sparsis membris inanem tui <sup>9</sup>Serapidis sive  
 Osiridis tumulum; considera denique sacra ipsa et  
 6 ipsa mysteria: invenies exitus tristes, fata et funera  
 et luctus atque planetus miserorum deorum.

7     Isis <sup>10</sup>perditum filium <sup>11</sup>cum Cynocephalo suo et  
<sup>12</sup>calvis sacerdotibus luget, plangit, inquirit: et

<sup>8</sup> et despice sis Isidis. Si dubi-  
 tas an mortui sint, despice, si vis,  
 etc. LINDNER. The MS. reads et  
 de spicis. All sorts of conjectures  
 have been advanced on the meaning  
 of this sentence, which Rigaltius  
 interprets literally. Cellarius sug-  
 gested despice, but the reading  
 which I have introduced is a nearer  
 approximation to that of the MS.  
 Again, most Edd. have ad(i.e.juxta)  
*hirundinem sistrum.* "Isis enim," says  
 Lindner, "depingebatur cum hi-  
 "rundine avicula et siastro. Erat  
 "vero, ut sistrum instrumentum, ita  
 "hirundo animal, querulum et lucti-  
 "bus aptum." Plutarch *de Isid.*  
 et *Oeir.* p. 357 c: αὐτὴν ('Ισίδα)  
 γενομένην χελιδόνε τῷ κιόνι περι-  
 πέτεσθαι καὶ θρηνεῖν: where, how-  
 ever, Salmasius interprets χελιδόνα  
 to mean "a serpent," the symbol of  
 Isis. Others interpret *ad hirundi-*  
*nem sistrum,* "sistrum hirundinino  
 similem." See Hand, *Tursell.* i. p.  
 110. By the simple change of punctua-  
 tion, which I have given, a better  
 sense is elicited. Hildebrand has  
 appended a disquisition on the ori-  
 gin of the name and the form of  
 the *sistrum* to his edition of Apu-  
 leius, Vol. ii. p. 644, sqq.

<sup>9</sup> Serapidis sive Osiridis tui: in  
 allusion to Ch. ii. § 5. Lactant. *I. D.*  
 i. 21, 22: Hic est Osiris, quem Se-  
 rapim vel Serapidem vulgus ap-  
 peلات. Solent enim mortuis con-  
 secratis nomina immutari; credo, ne  
 quis putet eos homines fuisse. Lind-  
 ner remarks: "Osiris est sol, seqne  
 "ac Serapis, at vero alio respectu,  
 "quatenus nimirum annorum causa  
 "est et tempora efficit. Sol enim  
 "sive Osiris quatuor habet sym-  
 "bola, Ammonem, Horum, Se-  
 "rapim, et Harpocratem h. e.  
 "Solem in duobus sequinoctiis et  
 "solsticiis." Plutarch *de Isid.* p.  
 362; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* II. c. 1.

<sup>10</sup> perditum filium, i.e. Harpo-  
 cratem. Vide Index i. s. v. Comp.  
 Lactant. I. xxi. 20: "Isidis Ægyptia  
 sacra sunt, quatenus filium parvu-  
 lum vel perdiderit vel invenerit.  
 Nam primo sacerdotes ejus, degla-  
 brato corpore, sua corpora tundunt,  
 lamentantur, sicut ipsa, quum per-  
 didit, fecerat. Deinde puer produ-  
 citur quasi inventus et in lætitiam  
 luctus ille mutatur. Ideo Lucanus  
 nunquamque satis quesitus Osiria.

<sup>11</sup> cum Cynocephalo, i.e. Anu-  
 bide. Vide Index s. v.

<sup>12</sup> calvis sacerdotibus. The MS.

CAP.XXI. <sup>13</sup>Iaci miseri cædunt pectora, et dolorem infelissimæ matris imitantur: mox, invento parvulo, gaudet Isis, <sup>14</sup>exultant sacerdotes, Cynocephalus inventor gloriatur: nec desinunt annis omnibus vel perdere quod inveniunt, vel invenire quod perdunt. Nonne ridiculum est, vel <sup>15</sup>lugere quod colas, vel 8 colere quod lugeas? [haec tamen *Ægyptia* quondam, nunc et <sup>16</sup>sacra Romana sunt.

Ceres facibus accensis et serpente <sup>17</sup>circumdata 9 ta errore subreptam et corruptam Liberam anxia et sollicita vestigat. Hæc sunt Eleusinia.

reading is *alius*. Artemid. *Oneir.* i. 23; et Prudent. *adv. Symmach.* i. [v. 360]: Martial. *Epligr.* xxix. 12: Linigeri fugiunt calvi, distractaque turba. Apulej. *Metam.* xi. 10; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 533,  
Qui grege linigero circumdatus et grege  
calvo,

Plangentis populi currit derisor Anubis.  
<sup>18</sup> *Iaci cædunt pectora:* τύπονται (οἱ Ἀγύρττοι) ἀντοίσλεροις τὰ στήθη κατὰ τὰς πανηγύρεις ὡς ἐπὶ τετελευτῆκότι, καὶ θύουσι ὡς θεοῖς. Athenag. *Leg.* p. 14, cap. xii.

<sup>14</sup> *exultant sacerdotes:* Juvenal. *Satir.* viii. vs. 29:

Exclamare libet, populus quod clamat Osiri Invento.

Scholiastes vetus: populus *Ægypti* invento Osiri dixit: Εὐρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν. Vid. Firmicus Maternus, *de Errorre Profan. Relig.* p. 6 et 8, ac Augustinus *de Civitate Dei*, lib. vi. cap. 10. ELMENHORST.

<sup>15</sup> *lugere quod colas.* Cf. Clem. Alexand. *Cohort.* c. x. § 91, p. 74: Ιδέτω τις ὑμῶν τὸν παρά τοὺς εἰδῶλους λατρεύοντας... ἔργα δεικνύντας τῶν εἰδῶλων τὰ τεμένη τάφους τινὰς ἡ δεσμωτήρια· οὐτοὶ

μοι δοκοῦει πενθεῖν, οὐ θρησκεύειν τὸν θεούν, ἀλέον μᾶλλον ἡ θεοσεβείας δξια πεπονθέτες.

<sup>16</sup> *sacra Romana sunt.* Tertullian *Apolog.* c. vi.; *ad Nat.* i. 10. The worship of Serapis was prohibited within the walls, and the altars destroyed by the senate, Dio xl. 47; xlii. 26: they were restored by popular tumult, but forbidden by Gabinius chiefly, B.C. 58, (Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* ii. 73). Afterwards, M. Æmilius Paulus himself broke down the temple (Val. Max. i. 3). The worship was subsequently restored by Augustus in the triumvirate (Dio xvii. 15; Augustine *de C.D.* xi. 4; Lucan, *Phare.* xiii. 83).

<sup>17</sup> *circumdata.* Davies and Lindner prefer the reading *circumdata*, i. e. 'circumvecta,' to that of the MS., quoting Ovid. *Fast.* iv. 491:

frenatos curribus angues  
Jungit et sequores sicca pererrat aquas:  
*Liberam*, i.e. *Proserpina*. Cicero  
in *Verr.* II. iv. 48: *N. D.* ii. 24.

*Eleusinia* sc. *sacra, mysteria.*  
<sup>18</sup> *matriz capella.* *Amalthea.*  
Callimachus *Hymn.* in *Jov.* v. 48:

10     Et quæ Jovis sacra sunt? <sup>18</sup>nutrix capella est, et CAP.XXI.  
 avido patri subtrahitur infans, ne voretur: et Cory-  
 bantum cymbalis, ne pater audiat, vagitus <sup>19</sup>imitus  
 eliditur.

11     <sup>20</sup>Cybelæ Dyndima pudet dicere, quæ <sup>21</sup>adulte-  
 rum suum infelicitter placitum, quoniam et ipsa de-  
 formis et vetula ut multorum deorum mater ad  
 stuprum inlicere non poterat, exsecuit, ut deum  
 12 scilicet faceret eunuchum. Propter hanc fabulam  
<sup>22</sup>Galli eam et semiviri sui corporis suppicio colunt.  
 Hæc jam non sunt sacra: tormenta sunt.

σὸς δὲ θύρα πλόντα μαζῶν  
 Αἴγεις Λαμπθεῖης

hoc est: tu autem traxisti pingue  
 uber capra Amaltheæ. Schol. ibi:  
 Ἀμαλθείης: Οὐτως ἐκάλειτο η  
 αἰτεῖ τὸν Δία θρέψασα. Lactantius,  
 Lib. i. cap. xxi. § 38, *Capella est  
 Amaltheæ nympha*, distinguens  
 Amaltheam a capella. CELLA-  
 RIUS. Cf. Tertull. *Apol.* cap. xxv.

<sup>19</sup> *imitus eliditur* is the happy  
 conjecture of Hildebrand, (*Apul.* i.  
 p. 245) for the MS. reading *initus*.  
 The usual reading is *ne pater au-  
 diat vagitus, tinnitus eliditur*. But  
*tinnitus elidere* appears to me a very  
 inexpressive phrase: though I can  
 understand *sibilum elidere* (*Cels.*  
 iv.) and *sonum elidere similem  
 sternutamento*, which are both quoted  
 in support of the reading. Com-  
 pare the use of this verb below, ch.  
 xxx. 2. The *Corybantes* were the  
 priests of Cybele, to whom Virgil  
 alludes, *Georg.* iv. 169, 64:

Tinnitusque cle et matris quate cymbala  
 circum.

Strabo, *Geograph.* xx. p. 478; and  
 Ovid *Fast.* iv. 210:

Ardua jam dudum resonans tinnitus Ida,  
 Tutus ut infanti vagat ore puer:  
 Pars manibus clypeos, galeas pars tundit  
 inanes,  
 Hoc Curetes habent, hoc Corybantes  
 opus.

<sup>20</sup> *Cybelæ Dyndima*: loca, ubi  
 concelebrabantur solemnia pro ip-  
 sis solemnibus. OEHLER. Comp.  
 Virgil. *Georg.* i. 32; Lucan, *Phars.*  
 ii. 240, speaks of:

Sanguineis ululantia Dyndima Gallia.  
 Another reading is *Cybele Dyndi-  
 mena* (*pudet dicere*) *quaæ*.

<sup>21</sup> adulterum sc. Attin. Catul-  
 lus, *Carm.* lxi: Augustin. *C. D.* vi.  
 7; Arnob. *adv. Nat.* v. 6, 7.

<sup>22</sup> *Galli ... et semiviri*, “her vota-  
 ries themselves also eunuchs,” Ovid.  
*Fast.* iv. 223, sqq.; Juv. *Sat.* viii.  
 175: Pers. *Sat.* v. 186: Tatian. *or.*  
*ad Græc.* p. 36 c, ed. Otto. They  
 were so called after a river *Gallus*  
 in Phrygia, whose water was said to  
 drive them mad. Ovid. *ib.* v. 363:

Inter ... viridem Cybelen, altasque Celenas.  
 Amnis it inanea, nomine Gallus, aqua  
 Qui bibit, inde furti.

On *jam non* see above, ch. xii. § 4.

## CAP.XXI.

The various representations of the gods are a mockery of them and as extravagant as the

<sup>23</sup> Quid formæ ipsæ et habitus? nonne arguunt 13 ludibria et dedecora deorum vestrorum? <sup>24</sup> Vulcanus claudus deus et debilis: <sup>25</sup> Apollo tot æstatibus levis: <sup>26</sup> Æsculapius bene barbatus, etsi semper adolescentis Apollinis filius: Neptunus glaucis oculis, Minerva cæsiis, bubulis Juno, pedibus Mercurius alatis, Pan ungulatis, Saturnus compeditis: Janus vero frontes duas gestat, <sup>27</sup> quasi ut aversus incedat.

<sup>23</sup> Quid formæ? {Ovid. vi. Met. 73.

sua quenque deorum  
Inscribit facies.

J. GR.]

Comp. Clem. Alex. Cohort. § 57, p. 50 ed. Potter; ἐναπομέμπται πάνυ δὴ σεφῶς τὰ εἰδη τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν δαιμόνων. εἰ γοῦν τις τὰς γραφὰς καὶ τὰ δγάλματα περινοστῶν θεῷτο, γνωριεῖ ὑμῶν παραντίκα τὸν θεοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπονειδίστων σχημάτων.

<sup>24</sup> Vulcanus claudus: ἀμφιγυνήεις. Cf. Cic. Nat. Deor. i. 30; Clem. Alex. Protrept. c. vii. § 76, p. 65, and cap. ii. § 29, "Ηφαίστος δὲ, δὲν ἔρριψεν ἐξ Ολύμπου Ζεὺς

βηλοῦ ἀπὸ θεστερίου, ἐν Δῆμνῳ καταπεσὼν ἐχάλκευε πηραθεὶς τῷ πόδε"'

ἐπὸν δὲ κτῆματα βάσιστον δραματ. (ex Hom. Il. a. 591: σ. 410).

*Debilis* is properly 'mancus, mutilus,' i. e. one "who has sustained a loss or injury of limb." Comp. Cicer. Finn. v. 28: bona integritas corporis, misera debilitas. See Græv. ad Cicer. Rabir. c. 7, p. 81.

<sup>25</sup> Apollo tot æstatibus levis. "Apollo as beardless for all his age." Comp. Horace Carm. iv. vi. 28; Lactantius (*ubi infra*).

<sup>26</sup> Æsculapius bene barbatus.

"Barbatus fingebatur, senilis prudenter medicō necessarię significanda causa." CELLARIUS ad Lact. ii. iv. 18, where the story of Dionysius is told in nearly the same words as by Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* iii. 34: auream barbam demens Æsculapio incongruens et iniquum esse ait, quum Apollo pater ejus imberbis esset adhuc ac levis. Comp. Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* vi. 21.

*Semper adolescentis.* See note 3 on ch. xxx. § 1.

<sup>27</sup> quasi ut incedat. Codicis MS. lectionem unice veram tuerit Plauti locus *Mercat.* i. i. 90: "Servom una mittit, qui olim a puero parvulo mihi paedagogus fuerat, quasi ut mihi foret custos." Item Lactantii III. 24, 10, ubi Bienemann. LINDBERG. Apuleius has *quasi velut*, *de Deo Socr.* p. 106 ed. Hildebr.

On Janus *bifrons*, see the comm. on Ovid. *Fast.* i. 95; Plutarch, *Qu. Rom.* 40 and 22, 27.

*Interim*, i. q. interdum. See above ch. xix. 10 note.

<sup>28</sup> Ephesia mammis multis: Hieronym. ad Ep. Paul. ad Eph. proœm.: "Dianam illam multimammam, quam Græci πολύμαστον vocant: ut scilicet ex ipsa quoque effigie mentirentur omnium bestiarum et viventium esse naturam."

14 Diana interim est alte succincta venatrix: et CAP.XXI.  
 28 Ephesia mammis multis et veribus extorta: et  
 29 Trivia trinis capitibus, et multis manibus hor-  
 15 rifica. Quid? ipse Juppiter vester 29 modo imber-  
 bis statuitur, modo barbatus locatur: et 31 quum  
 Hammon dicitur, habet cornua: et quum Capitoli-  
 nus, tunc gerit fulmina: et 32 quum Latiaris, cruento  
 perfunditur: et 33 quum Feretrius, non aditur. Et

*et veribus.* Some critics read *et überibus* against MS. authority. By *veribus*, as Lucas Holstenius shews in a disquisition upon this passage, are meant "iron rods by which the statue was fixed in its position and supported." Comp. Arnob. *adv. Nat.* vi. 15; Prudent. *c. Symmach.* Lib. i:

.....Leda proles  
 Nocturnique equites, celare duo numina  
 Roma,  
 Impudente retinente veru.

29 *Trivia trinis capitibus:* Horat. III. *Od.* xxii. 4: *Diva triforis;* Virg. *Aen.* iv. 541:  
*Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria vir-*  
*ginis ora Diana.*

Apulej. *Metam.* xi. 2.

29 modo imberbis. Pausan. *Eliac.* I. 24: ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἀλλος Ζεὺς οὐκ  
 ἔχων τῷ γένειον: Achaic. c. xxiii.; Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 437; Virgil. *Aen.* vii. 799:

Circumque jugum, quels Jupiter Anx-  
 urus arvis  
 Praesidet;

where Anxurus=δίξυρος answers to  
 imberbis.

31 quum Hammon dicitur, habet  
 cornua. Herodot. ii. 42: hence the  
 names κερατοφόρος, κριοπρόσω-  
 πος. Lucan ix. 412 de Hammonis  
 oraculo;

.....stat corniger illic  
 Jupiter, ut memorant, sed non aut fulmine  
 vibrans  
 Aut similis nostro, sed fortis cornibus  
 Hammon.

#### CELLARIUS.

32 quum Latiaris, cruento per-  
 funditur. The expression *cruento per-  
 funditur* occurs in Lactant. vii. 20,  
 1, *sancto cruento* (i. e. Christi) per-  
 fusio: *ibid.* vi. 26: *Epit.* c. 63: Sil.  
 Ital. i. 5, 7. The occasion on which  
 this barbarous rite took place was  
 at the feriae Latinae celebrated  
 on the Alban mount. Tatian, *or.*  
*ad Gr.* § 29, p. 112, says that his  
 belief in Heathenism was first  
 shaken, after witnessing τὸν κατ'  
 αὐτοῦ (Ρωμαίου) Δασιάριον Δία  
 λύθροις αὐθρώτων καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν  
 αἰδροκτασιῶν αἷμασι τερπόμενον;  
 Comp. below, ch. xxx. § 4; Justin.  
 M. *Apol.* 11, c. 12, n. 9, p. 199, *ubiq.*  
 Otto; Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 8. p. 165;  
 Tertullian. *Apol.* c. ix; *Scorp.* c. vii;  
 Athanas. c. *Gent.* c. xxv; Lactant.  
 i. 21; Porphyry περὶ ἀτοχῆς, ap.  
 Euseb. *Præp. Evan.* 1. 16; Cic. *pro  
 Mil.* c. xxxi; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 7.

33 quum Feretrius non aditur. See  
 Liv. i. 10, and for the origin of the  
 name, Plutarch *Vit. Marc.* p. 302:  
*Non auditur*, which stands in the  
 MS. must mean, if the reading be  
 correct, "is no longer heard of."

CAP.XXI. <sup>34</sup>ne longius multos Joves obeam, tot sunt Jovis monstra, quot nomina.

romances of  
their lives  
and deaths.

<sup>35</sup>Erigone suspensa de laqueo est, ut Virgo in- 16 ter astra ignita sit. <sup>36</sup>Castores alternis moriuntur, ut vivant: <sup>37</sup>Æsculapius ut in deum surgat, fulminatur: Hercules <sup>38</sup>ut hominem exuat, Ætæis ignibus concrematur.

i. e. no longer regarded. But few editors have remained satisfied with it: Wouwer proposes *non adiutor*, i. e. "his temple is no longer visited by suppliants;" James Gronovius, *nomen auditor*, i. e. only his name is heard spoken of, there is no statue of him to gaze upon: John F. Gronovius, *Obs. Eccl.* p. 81, *opimis in-* *diutor*, sc. spoliis, whose conjecture Cellarius adopts in his text: *Peri-* *zonius, pompa adiutor.*

<sup>34</sup> *ne longius multos Joves obeam.*  
Comp. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* cap. 11, § 28, p. 24 ed. Potter. *Obeam* sc. oratione. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 51.

<sup>35</sup> *Erigone.* Tatian, *or. c. Gr.* § 9, after speaking of the Κύων 'Ηριόνητ, asks how it was that the heaven was unfurnished before the disastrous events which gave rise to the several constellations.

<sup>36</sup> *Castores.* Comp. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* c. ii. § 30; Lactant. i. 10. 5; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ii. 7; Origen. c. *Cels.* iii. p. 123, who quotes Homer *Od.* xi. 381:

ἄλλοτε μὲν ζάσου ἐπερίμερος, ἄλλοτε δὲ  
αἴτη τεθάσιν, τυμὴν δὲ λελύχασσι θεοῖς.

<sup>37</sup> *Æsculapius fulminatur;* because Pluto complained that he deprived him of visitors to his realms, Pindar *Pyth.* iii. *antiistr.* 3: *Æn.* vii. 772, sqq. Comp. Origen, Lactantius *ll. dd.*; Tertull. *Apol.* xiv; Athenag.

*Leg. c. xxv*; Arnob. *adv. Nat.* i. 41; iv. 24: Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 25.

<sup>38</sup> *ut hominem exuat*, i. e. humanam naturam deponat. Sic Christus dicitur *induisse hominem* Cypriano *de Idol.* *Van.* vii. 6. LINDNER. For the allusion comp. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* § 30, p. 26: Ἡρακλέα γοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς Ὁμηρος θυητὸν οἶδεν ἀνθρώπον· οὗτος οὖν δύο πρόστοις πεντήκοντα ἔτη βεβιωκὼς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον διὰ τῆς ἐν Οἰτῃ πυρᾶς κεκηδευμένος.

Ch. XXII. <sup>1</sup> *elaboramus*, "we give them a finish by the very course of our studies and mode of education." *Plurimum quantum*, a Greekism like *nimirum quantum*, *immane quantum*, occurs again in ch. xl. § 1. Cicero makes a similar complaint of the baneful influence of the poets *de N. D.* i. 16: "nec enim multo absurdiora sunt ea, quæ poetarum vocibus fusa, ipsas suavitate nocuerunt: qui et ira inflammatos et libidine furentes induixerunt deos; feceruntque ut eorum bella, pugnas, prælia, vulnera videremus: odia præterea, dissidia, discordias, ortus, interitus, querelas, lamentationes, effusas in omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortalesque ex immortale procreatos." See Graves *on the Pentateuch*, p. 112.

Has fabulas et errores et ab imperitis parentibus discimus et, quod est gravius, ipsis studiis et disciplinis <sup>1</sup>elaboramus, carminibus præcipue poetarum, qui plurimum quantum veritati ipsi sua auctoritate nocuere. Et Plato ideo præclare <sup>2</sup>Homerum illum inclytum, laudatum et coronatum, de civitate, quam <sup>3</sup>in sermone instituebat, ejecit. <sup>4</sup>Hic

The popular superstition founded upon the poetical theology, a system full of the vicious exploits, adulteries, contentions, and other abominations of the gods, and therefore deservedly censured by PLATO,

<sup>2</sup> Homerum illum inclytum, etc.  
The passage of Plato stands thus: *ἀνδρα δὴ δυνάμενον ὥπλο τοφίας παντοδαπὸν γίγνεσθαι καὶ μιμεῖσθαι πάντα χρῆματα, εἰ ήμην ἀφεκτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς τε καὶ τὰ ποιήματα βουλόμενος ἐπιδεξαθαι, προσκυνοῦμεν ἀν αὐτὸν, ὡς ιερὸν καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ηδὺν εἴποιμεν δὲ ἀν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρ' οἷμιν οὗτος θέμις ἕγγενέσθαι, ἀποπέμποιμέν τε εἰς ἀλλην πόλιν, μύρον κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καταχέατες καὶ ἑρίστεψαντες: de Rep. Lib. III. p. 398. See also Lib. II. p. 379, and comp. Origen c. Cels. iv. § 36: εὐλόγως ἐκβάλλει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πολιτείας Πλάτων, ὡς ἐπιτρίβουντας τοὺς νέους, τὸν 'Ομηρον καὶ τὸν τοιαῦτα γράφοντας ποιήματα: and Theodoret περὶ ἀρχῆς, p. 22. 10. ed. Gaisford: τί γάρ τῆς 'Ομηρον ποιήσεις ηδίουν; τί δὲ τῆς εὐεπίλας ἐκείνης γλυκύτερον; ἀλλ' ὅμῶς τοῦτον τῶν φιλοσόφων δριστος, μύρῳ γε ἀλείψας, ἐκ τῆς ὥπλος τοῦτον ἔντεθείσης ἀπέκεμψε πόλεως, ἀκολασίας καλέσας καὶ δυσσεβείας διδάσκαλον, βλασφημεῖν γάρ, φησιν, ἐκπαιδεύει τοὺς νέους καὶ πονηρὰς αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐντίθησι δέξαται, καὶ δικάλοις ἔτι οὖσι μαθήματα πουνηρὰ καὶ διεφθαρμένα*

*ἐνίησι (Rep. III. p. 398): Cicero also in the Tusc. Disp. ii. 11, in declaiming against the danger to morality arising from the study of the poets, alludes to the above passage. See Leland, Chr. Revel. Pt. i. ch. 6.*

<sup>3</sup> in sermone, "in his dialogue." Davies remarks that this is a mis-translation of Plato's expression λόγος, of constant recurrence in the Republic, (e. g. Lib. v. p. 465), which Augustin properly translates *ratione*, i. e. "theoretically," de Civ. Dei, ii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Hic enim præcipue etc.* The whole of this section is evidently borrowed from Cicero and Tertullian; for the former, see de N. D. i. 30; de Div. ii. 10: Tusc. i. 26: for the latter, Apol. c. xiv: Sed conversus ad literas vestras, quibus informamini ad prudentiam et liberalia officia, quanta inventio ludibri! Deos inter se propter Trojanos et Achivos, ut gladiatori paria, congressos depugnasse: Venerem humana sagitta sauciata: Martem tredecim mensibus in vinculis pene consumptum: Jovem, ne eandem vim a ceteris coabitibus experiretur, opera cuiusdam monstri liberatum; et nunc fientem Sarpedonis casum, nunc foede subantem in sororem sub commemoratione non ita dilectorum jampridem amicarum.

C. XXII. enim præcipiuus bello Troico deos vestros, etsi ludos facit, tamen in hominum rebus et actibus miscuit: hic eorum <sup>5</sup>paria composuit, <sup>6</sup>sauciavit Venerem, <sup>7</sup>Martem vinxit, vulneravit, fugavit. <sup>8</sup>Jovem <sup>4</sup>narrat a Briareo liberatum, ne a diis ceteris ligatur: et Sarpedonem filium, quoniam morti non poterat eripere, cruentis imbribus flevisse: et loro Veneris illectum, flagrantius, quam in adulteras soleat, cum Junone uxore concumbere.

<sup>9</sup>Alibi Hercules stercora egerit, et Apollo <sup>10</sup>Admeto pecus pascit: <sup>11</sup>Laomedonti vero muros Neptunus instituit, nec mercedem operis infelix structor

*bello Troico*, i. e. “in his poem on the Trojan war.” Comp. Cicero *Ep. ad Trebat.* Lib. vii. 16. In Equo Trojano sciri esse in extremo, i. e. “in the play so entitled.”

*Ludos facere* hic non est risui exponere, sed de fictione poetica usurpatur. Valent enim haec ad Homerum quodammodo excusandum. LINDNER.

<sup>5</sup>*paria composuit*, “has represented them paired like so many gladiators.” So Horace, *Sat.* i. 10, 36: *Turgidus Alpinus jugulat dum Memnona,*

i. e. jugulatum fingit. Comp. Brouckhuus on Propertius, p. 29. For the allusion, see *Iliad.* v. 66, sqq.

<sup>6</sup>*sauciavit Venerem.* *Il.* v. 330. The same instances occur together in Athenag. *legat.* c. xvii. p. 21; Athanasius *or. c. Gr.* § 12; Justin M. *Cohort.* § 3; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* c. ii. § 36, p. 31 *ed. Potter*, to prove the gods are *dvθρωποι αθεῖται*.

<sup>7</sup>*Martem vinxit*: sc. by Oetus and Ephialtes, *Il.* v. 385, sqq. *Vulneravit*, sc. by Diomed, *ib.* v. 855, sqq.

<sup>8</sup>*Jovem liberatum.* *Il.* i. 399, sqq. *Sarpedonem.* xi. 459, seqq.

*loro Veneris illectum*: *ibid.* xiv. 312: comp. Clem. Alex. *l. c.* § 33, p. 28: *δλλ' ἐαν ἐπιθείητε μόνον, ἀνθρώπῳ, (ῶ Ομῆρε) τὸν κεστὸν* (*Il.* ξ. 214), *ἔξελέγχεται καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ἡ κόμη κατασχύνεται.*

<sup>9</sup>alibi. Apud Ovidium *Metam.* ix. 187; ii. 680; xi. 203. Nam apud Homerum nihil tale legitur. LINDNER. Of course the allusion is to the cleansing of the stables of Augias.

<sup>10</sup>*Admeto pecus pascit.* *Il.* ii. 765; Callimach. *Hymn. in Apoll.* 49: Eurip. *Alcest.* prolog. quoted by Athenag. *legat.* cap. xvii. p. 22. Comp. Tatian. *or. ad Gr.* § 21; Lactant. i. 10. 3; Tertullian, quoted below; Augustin, *de C. D.* iii. 2.

<sup>11</sup>*Laomedonti vero etc.* *Il.* xxi. v. 443; Eurip. *Troad.* prolog. Comp. Tertullian, *Apol.* xiv: *Hic Apollinem Admeto regi pascendis pecoris addicit, ille Neptuni structorias operas Laomedonti locat.* Comp. Arnob. *adv. Nat.* iv. 25.

<sup>12</sup>*illuc*: alio loco, apud alium

accipit: <sup>12</sup> illic Jovis fulmen cum Aeneas armis in c. xxii.  
incude fabricatur: quum cœlum et fulmina et ful-  
gura longe ante fuerint, quam Jupiter in Creta  
nasceretur: et flamas veri fulminis nec Cyclops  
potuerit imitari, nec ipse Jupiter non vereri.

6 Quid loquar <sup>13</sup> Martis et Veneris adulterium de-  
prehensum? et in <sup>14</sup> Ganymedem Jovis stuprum  
cœlo consecratum? quæ omnia in hoc prodita, <sup>15</sup> ut  
7 vitiis hominum quædam auctoritas pararetur. His  
atque hujusmodi figmentis et mendaciis dulcioribus  
corrumpuntur ingenia puerorum: et <sup>16</sup> iisdem fabulis  
inhærentibus ad usque summæ statis robur ado-

as counte-  
nancing the  
vilest and  
most criminal  
actions, and  
therefore  
pernicious to  
morality by  
reason of its  
authority  
with the  
people.

poetam. Innuit autem locum Vir-  
gili *Aeneid.* viii. 424, seq. LIND-  
NEB. *Fabricatur*, passively as below,  
cap. xxiii. § 10.

<sup>13</sup> *Martis adulterium deprehen-  
sum.* Hom. *Odyss.* viii. 267; Ovid.  
*A. A.* ii. *sub fin.*; *Metam.* iv. 171;  
Comp. Clem. Alex. *Admonit. ad Gent.*  
§ 33, p. 29 *Potter*; Prudent. *Peri-  
steph. Hymn.* 10. 85; Arnobius, *l. d.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ganymedem.* Hom. *Il.* xx.  
231: *Hymn. in Vener.*; Theocritus  
*Idyll.* xii. v. 35, sqq.; Apollon. *Ar-  
gon.* iii. 114, sqq.; Ovid. *Metam.*  
Lib. x. fab. 4; Clem. Alex. p. 28.

<sup>15</sup> *ut vitiis hominum*, "that some  
sanction might be had for the vices  
of mankind." sc. inquit aliquis  
verbis Ovidii *Amor.* ii. 8. 14.

Quod decuit divos, cur mihi turpe putem?  
Rigaltius reads *judicis*, upon which  
Gronovius remarks: [Recte id et  
de MS. et de sensu nota] Rigaltius:  
nam de *vitiis* loquuntur sequentia.  
Sed Homerus sic voluit pervertere  
*judicia hominum*: id quo efficacius  
fieret, sub nominibus cœlicolarum  
fixit talia admissa, quæ vere mala

et illicita accipiunt licentiam ab ex-  
emplo. Male Davis.] The note of Da-  
vies alluded to is as follows: "Certe  
“boni malique discrimen ex animis  
“humanis ita non evellebatur, ut  
“pleraque pars gentilium *judicis*  
“suis confirmaret, adulterium cete-  
“raque flagitia licita fuisse prorsus  
“et honesta; quamvis nonnulli phi-  
“losophi nefaria docuerint, ut os-  
“tendit H. Grotius in *Epist. ad*  
“*Rom.* cap. i. 32." Davies refers  
in the same note to the testimony  
of the heathen against the mischief  
caused by the stories of mythology;  
as Plato, *de Rep.* ii. p. 378; Seneca,  
*de brevit. vita*, cap. xvi; Quid aliud  
est *vitia incendere* quam auctores  
illis inscribere deos et dare morbo,  
exemplo divinitatis, excusatam li-  
centiam: Philostr. *vit. Apoll. Tyan.*  
v. 14; and also to that of the Chris-  
tian writers, Firmicus *de Err. Prof.*  
*Rel.* p. 30; Justin M. *Apol.* i. c. 29;  
Tatian *or. ad Gr.* p. 12; Athenag.  
*legat.* c. 29; Aug. *C. D.* ii. 7. 10. 25.

<sup>16</sup> *iisdem fabulis inhærentibus*  
etc., "with the same stories riveted

## C. XXII.

It is easy to see that the principal of your divinities are but men, for they were either lineally descended from *Saturn*, who, according to testimony of your own writers, was himself a mortal;

lescunt: et in iisdem opinionibus miseri consenserunt: quum sit veritas obvia, sed requirentibus.  
<sup>17</sup> *Saturnum enim principem hujus generis et examinis omnes scriptores vetustatis, Græci Romanique, hominem prodiderunt.* <sup>18</sup> *Scit hoc Nepos et Cassius in historia et Thallus ac Diodorus hoc loquuntur.* Is itaque *Saturnus Creta profugus Italiam metu filii saevientis accessit, et Jani susceptus hospitio rudes illos homines et agrestes multa docuit, ut*  
<sup>19</sup> *Græculus et politus, litteras imprimere, nummos*

in their minds they reach the prime of manhood, and the same delusions attend them, poor men, in their old age: whereas the truth of the matter is clear enough in itself, though only for those who inquire into it." *Miseri*: see ch. xii. note 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Saturnum enim principem etc.* The whole of this section should be compared with Tertullian, *Apol.* cap. 10: "ante *Saturnum* deus "penes vos nemo est; ab illo census "totius vel potioris et notioris di- "vinitatis. Itaque quod de origine "constiterit, id et de posteritate con- "veniet. *Saturnum* itaque, si quan- "tum licere docent, neque *Diodorus* "Græcus aut *Thallus* neque *Cas- "sius Severus* aut *Cornelius Nepos* "aliud quam hominem promulga- "verunt. Etiam *Jovem* ostendemus "tam hominem quam ex homine, et "deinceps totum generis examen "tam mortale quam seminis sui "par." See Leland, *I. I. Pt i. ch. 4.*

*Examen* i. e. "swarm" is a word of contempt, Horace, *i. Ep. xix. 23.*  
<sup>18</sup> *scit hoc*, "is aware of this," "attests this." See Heraldus on Tertullian *Apol. cap. v.*

*Cornelius Nepos*, besides his work *de vitiis illustribus*, published

also another entitled *Chronica*, which is not extant, (*Aulus Gell. N. A. xv. 28; xvii. 21*); as neither are the *Annales* of *Cassius Hemina*, a writer of Italian history from the earliest times to his own, *A. u. c. 608*; (*Plin. N. H. xiii. 17, 32*: *Macrob. Saturn. i. 16*).

*Thallus* was a writer of Syrian history, Euseb. *Pr. Ev. x. 3.*

*Diodorus*, i. e. *Siculus*, *Bibl. Hist. Lib. iii. cap. 61.* The testimony of the same four authors is appealed to by *Lactantius, de fals. rel. i. xiii. 8*, and *Tertullian, l. d.* See also, *Justin M. Cohort. p. 7*; *Theophil. ad Autolyc. iii. § 29, p. 211, ed. Humphry.*

<sup>19</sup> *Græculus*, a "Greekling," contemptuously. Comp. *Juvenal, Satir. iii. 78; vi. 186.* *Rudes illos homines*, *Virgil. Æn. viii. 321, sqq.*

*Litteras imprimere*, h. e. scribere: Tertullian. *Apol. cap. x*: Ab ipso (*Saturno*) primum tabulae, et imagine signatus nummus, et inde serario præsidet: *Macrob. Saturn. i. 7*: *Isidor. Origg. xvi. 18.*

*Instrumenta confidere sc. rustica*. *Cyprian. de I. V. i. 3.*

<sup>20</sup> *vocari maluit Latium*: *Æn. l. c.*

10 signare, instrumenta conficere. Itaque latebram C. XXII.  
 suam, quod tuto latuisset, <sup>20</sup>vocari maluit Latium :  
 et urbem <sup>21</sup>Saturniam dedit de suo nomine, et  
 Janiculum Janus; ad memoriam uterque posteritatis  
 11 reliquerunt. Homo igitur utique qui fugit; homo  
 utique qui latuit; et pater hominis et natus ex  
 homine : <sup>22</sup>terræ enim et coeli filius, quod apud Italos  
 esset ignotis parentibus, proditus : ut in hodier-  
 num <sup>23</sup>inopinato visos, cœlo missos; ignobiles et  
 12 ignotos, terræ filios nominamus. Ejus filius Jupiter

*Latiumque vocari*

*Mahit*, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oria.  
 Cf. Arnob. *adv. nat.* iv. 24; Lactant.  
*D. I. i. xiv. § 12.*

<sup>21</sup> *Saturniam*. [antea vocatam Argesam; Schol. Lycophr. *Alexandr.* p. 183. *J. GR.*] In monte Sa-  
 turnio, qui postea Tarpeius, tan-  
 dem a Capitolio quod impositum est  
 Capitolinus dictus fuit. Varro,  
*L. L.* Lib. iv. cap. 7: "antiquum  
 oppidum in hoc (monte) fuisse Sa-  
 turniam scribitur. Ejus vestigia  
 etiam nunc manent tria. Virgilius,  
*Lib. vii. v. 375*:

Hanc Janus pater: hanc Saturnus condi-  
 dit urbem [men.]  
 Janiculum huc; illi fuerat Saturnia no-  
*CELLARIUS.*

Most editors omit *dedit*, which  
 is in the MS., wrongly according to  
*J. GR.* in a MS note: "videtur enim  
 Minucius," he says, "reliquisse com-  
 mode: et urbem *Saturniam dedit de*  
*suo nomine et Janiculum Janus*: ac  
 memoriam uterque posteritati reli-  
 querunt."

<sup>22</sup> *terra enim et cœli filius etc.*,  
 "for, if he was reported to be the son  
 of the earth and the heaven, it was  
 only because his original was un-  
 known among the Italians." Lac-

tantius (*Div. I. i. xi. 55*) objects to  
 this argument of our author, and  
 suggests that he should have ar-  
 gued, that Saturn, to immortalize  
 the memory of his parents, called the  
*earth* and *heaven*, which before had  
 different names, *terra* and *cœlum*  
 respectively after them. Comp Athen-  
*ag. legat.* p. 34; *Liv. Hist.* i. 58.

<sup>23</sup> *inopinato visos, cœlo missos.*  
 Tibulli distichon Lib. i. *Eleg.* iii. vs.  
 89, cum hoc componit Muretus, *Var.*  
*Lect.* xiii. cap. vii:  
 Tunc veniam subito nec quisquam nuntiet  
 ante,

Sed videar cœlo missus adesse tibi.

*Ignobiles et ignotos, terræ filios.*  
 Vide Ciceron. *Lib. vii. Epist. 9 ad*  
*Trebantium. CELLARIUS.*

Comp. Tertullian *Apol. c. x*: Lac-  
 tant. *D. I. i. xi*; Juvenal, *Sat.* iv.  
 98: fraterculus gigantis; Perseus,  
*Sat.* vi. 57: progenies terræ: Cic. *ad*  
*Attic.* i. 13: Quintilian, *Inst.* iii. 8.

*In hodiernum sc. diem, "to this  
 day."*

*Antrum Jovis visitur*: in quo na-  
 tus et educatus erat Jupiter. Apol-  
 lodor. *Biblioth.* Lib. i. cap. 1. § 3:  
 Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 152:

*Dictæo cœli regem pavere sub antro.*

Vid. Pausanias, viii. 86. DAVIES.

C. XXII. Cretæ excluso parente regnavit, illic obiit, illic filios habuit; adhuc antrum Jovis visitur et <sup>24</sup> sepulcrum ejus ostenditur et ipsis sacris suis humanitatis arguitur.

C. XXIII. <sup>1</sup> Otiosum est ire per singulos, et totam seriem generis istius explicare, quum in primis parentibus probata mortalitas in ceteros ipso ordine successionis influxerit. Nisi forte post mortem deos fin-  
2  
gitis et <sup>2</sup> pejerante Proculo deus Romulus et <sup>3</sup> Juba Mauris volentibus deus est et divi ceteri reges, qui consecrantur non <sup>4</sup> ad fidem numinis sed ad honorem emeritæ potestatis. <sup>5</sup> Invitis denique hoc 3

or else were once your fellow-men,  
deified by you after their death,  
out of gratitude for past services,  
indeed sometimes even against their own consent.

<sup>24</sup> sepulcrum ostenditur: Lucian speaks of this, *de Sacrif.* l. 10, 534: Callimachus *Hymn. in Jovem* vs. 8, (quoted by Origen c. *Cels.* III. p. 187) denies the story in these lines: Κρήτες δει ψεύσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὃ ἔνα,  
σεῦ  
Κρήτες ἀπεκτίναστο· οὐδὲ δὲ θάνατος ἐστοι  
γὰρ αἰσ.

Comp. Lactant. *D. I.* i. xi. 46.

Ch. XXXIII. <sup>1</sup> Otiosum est. Formula transitionis. Tertull. *Apolog.* c. 10: Otiosum est etiam titulos persequi quod de origine constiterit, etiam de posteritate conveniet. Lactant. ii. 4. 28; Tacitus, *Annal.* xiii. 3. LINDEM. Comp. above ch. xviii. 1: longum est ire per singula. Translate: "Twere an idle thing to go through them one by one, and unfold the whole pedigree of your race of deities: since the same mortal nature, which has been proved in the case of their first parents, must have descended to the rest by the very course of succession." *Mortalitas* is used as *humanitas* in Ch. xxii. § 12.

<sup>2</sup> pejerante Proculo. Liv. Lib. i. cap. xvi; Plutarch. *vit. Rom.* p. 35. Comp. Justin M. *Apolog.* ii. p. 52. Reeves refers to Herodian's description of the *apotheosis* of Septimus Severus, Lib. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Juba, Mauris volentibus, deus est. Tertullian *Apolog.* xxiv; Lactant. i. 15. 8. Arnob. *adv. gent.* i. 36. Cellarius supposes that Minucius has fallen into an error, because Juba was king of the Numidæ; but Tacitus *Annal.* iv. 5 tells us, "Jubam Mauros ex dono P. R. accepisse;" and Strabo, *Geogr.* vi. says that in his time: εἰς Ἰούβαν περιεστηκεν Μαυρουσία καὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς Δλλῆς Λιβύης διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ρωμαίους εὐνοίαν τε καὶ φιλίαν.

<sup>4</sup> ad fidem numinis etc. "not so much to make men believe in their godship, as by way of respect for their past services as kings."

<sup>5</sup> invit. [Tertullian *Apol.* 33: quia nec ipse se deum volet dici, si homo sit. s. gr.] Denique, "to say no more": Hand, *Tursell.* ii. p. 275.

<sup>6</sup> optant in homine perseverare,

nomen adscribitur : <sup>6</sup>optant in homine perseverare : c. XXIII.  
<sup>7</sup>fieri se deos metuunt ; etsi jam senes, nolunt.

4 Ergo nec de mortuis dii sunt, quoniam Deus mori non posse: nec de natis, quoniam moritur omne, quod nascitur : divinum autem id est, quod 5 nec ortum habet, nec occasum. <sup>8</sup>Cur enim, si nati sunt, non hodieque nascuntur? nisi forte jam Jupiter senuit, et partus in Junone defecit : et Minerva canuit, antequam peperit. An ideo cessavit ista generatio, quoniam nulla hujusmodi fabulis 6 præbetur adsensio? <sup>9</sup>Ceterum si dii creare possint, interire non possent: plures totis homini-

But the true Divinity has neither beginning nor end. Absurd consequences of supposing a continual generation of gods.

"they wish rather to continue in their mortal nature." Compare the expression 'exuere hominem', i. e. humanam naturam, ch. xxi. 15. Arnobius frequently uses homo in the sense of *corpus* as opposed to *animus*: thus, i. 65: atque ipsius mortis extinctor hominem suum permiserit interfici: ii. 57: alterius vero sententia est nihil eas continuo perpeti sed post hominem positum...succedere. So also, i. 55, 62; ii. 28, 39. Comp. Lactantius, D. I. iv. 10. 1. with Bünnemann's note; Cyprian, de I. V. vii. 6.

<sup>7</sup>fieri se deos metuant. Hinc Vespasiani jocus, qui prima morbi accessione, ut, inquit, puto, deus fio. Sueton. in *Vesp.* [cap. xxiii.] Vide quæ notabamus ad Tertull. *Apol.* c. xxxiv. in hæc verba: Maledictum est ante apotheosis deum Cæsarem nuncupare. HERALDUS.

<sup>8</sup>cur enim...non hodieque nascuntur. Prius Theophilus Antiochenus Ethnicon eodem arguento confutaverat: εἰ γὰρ τότε ἐγεννῶν καὶ ἐγεννῶντο, δῆλον ὅτι ἔχριν καὶ

ἔστι τοῦ δέντρου γίνεσθαι θεούς γενητούς· εἰ δὲ μή γε, δοθεντες τὸ τοιοῦτο νοηθήσεται. οὐ γάρ ἐγγράπασι, διὸ οὐκ ἔτι γεννάσιν· οὐ διέθανον καὶ οὐκ ἔτι εἰσίν: [ad Autol. ii. 3]. Brevius quidem Tatianus sed non minus festive: "Si deorum generationem," inquit, "memoratis, etiam mortales eos declaratis: διετί γάρ οὐ κύει νῦν η "Ηρα; πότερον γεγήρακεν, η τοῦ μηνόσαντος ὡμῶν ἀπορεῖται"; orat. c. Gr. [cap. xxi.] LE NOURRY.

Comp. also Athenag. *legat.* c. 18; Lactant. D. I. i. xvi. 9; Lucan, *Bell. Phars.* viii. 458:

si numina nasci  
Credimus aut quanquam fas est cœpisse  
deorum.

<sup>9</sup>ceterum si dii etc.; "besides, if the gods had the power of begetting children, and not the power of dying, we should have a greater population of gods than there is of the whole of mankind: so that by this time the heavens could not contain them." Others understand *liberi*, implied from *creare*, before *non possent interire*. Comp. Theoph.

C. XXIII. bus deos haberemus, ut jam eos nec cœlum contineret, nec aër caperet, nec terra gestaret. Unde manifestum est homines illos fuisse, quos et natos legimus et mortuos scimus.

So that the object of vulgar adoration is clearly not the gods themselves, but their *images*, the workmanship of which interests the imagination and gratifies the sense of the ignorant, though they would blush to think what indignities are heaped upon them in the process of making.

*ad Autol. l. c. καὶ πλειονες θεοι ἀφειλον εἰναι τῶν διθράσκων, ὡς φησι Σιβυλλα: Arnobius, adv. Nat. iii. 9; Lactant. l. c.; Plin. N. H. ii. 7.*

<sup>10</sup> *quis ergo dubitat etc.* : "Who therefore questions but that the worship and public homage paid by the vulgar is paid to the consecrated images of these divinities: as the fancy and judgment of simple people is taken in with the finery of the workmanship, dazzled with the glitter of gold, or dulled with the lustre of silver and the pure whiteness of ivory?"

<sup>11</sup> *tomentis quibus.* Legi *tornis quibus.* Nam vox *tomentum* nota<sup>1</sup> *machinam bellicam*: <sup>2</sup> *supplicum et cruciatum*: <sup>3</sup> *fumen tensum.* LINDNER. Hildebr. ad *Apulej.* Vol. ii. p. 449, suggests *tornamentis*, i. q. *tornis.* For the argument, see Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xii; Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* c. 47, 56, sqq. p. 41, *Potter*: Justin M. *Apol.* i. 9; Hieronymus Lib. xii. in *Esaian* cap. 44: *Psalm. cxv. 4—8.*

<sup>12</sup> *infelicitis stipitis portio*, i. e.

<sup>10</sup> *Quis ergo dubitat horum imagines consecratae vulgus orare, et publice colere: dum opinio et mens imperitorum artis concinnitate decipitur, auri fulgore præstringitur, argenti nitore et candore eboris hebetatur?* Quod si in animum quis inducat, <sup>8</sup> *tormentis quibus, et quibus machinis simulacrum omne formetur, erubescet timere se materiem ab artifice, ut deum faceret, illusam.* Deus enim lig<sup>9</sup> neus, rogi fortasse vel <sup>12</sup> *infelicitis stipitis portio,*

crucis, "a piece of an ill-omened stake": Liv. i. 26: *infelici arbore reste suspendito.* LINDNER. Comp. Tibullus i. eleg. x. 17 sqq.; Propert. iv. 2; Horat. i. Sat. viii. 1.

*Cæditur, dolatur, runcinatur*, "is hewn, chipped and planed." The last word occurs in Plautus: in Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xii; Arnobius *adv. nat.* vi. c. 14.

<sup>13</sup> *de immundo vasculo confatur, matella, quas Romani habebant aureas et argenteas; Burmannus ad Petron. c. 27, p. 96.* LINDNER. Idem Romanus martyr apud Prudentium pagano judici objicit v. 298:

Qua dis ineptus obtulit talibus  
Quos trulla, pelvis, cantharus, sartagines,  
Fracta et liquata contulerunt vascula.

CELLARIUS.

Translate: "is molten out of the substance of an unclean vessel." For *confare* comp. Juv. xiii. 153:

*solutus totum confare Tonantem:*  
And for the argument, Arnobius, *adv. nat.* vi. c. 14.

<sup>14</sup> *ut factum Ægyptio regi*, "as

suspenditur, cæditur, dolatur, runcinatur : et deus <sup>c. xxiii.</sup>  
aureus vel argenteus <sup>13</sup>de immundo vasculo sæpius,  
<sup>14</sup> ut factum Ægyptio regi, conflatur, tunditur malleis et incudibus figuratur : et lapideus cæditur, scalpitur et <sup>15</sup>ab impurato homine lævigatur : nec sentit <sup>16</sup>suæ nativitatis injuriam, ita ut nec postea  
10 de vestra veneratione culturam. Nisi forte nondum deus saxum est, vel lignum, vel argentum. Quando igitur hic nascitur ? ecce <sup>17</sup>funditur, fabricatur, scalpitur ; nondum deus est : ecce plumbatur, constructur, erigitur ; <sup>18</sup>nec adhuc deus est : ecce ornat, <sup>19</sup>consecratur, oratur ; tunc postremo deus est, quum homo <sup>20</sup>illum voluit et dedicavit.

was done by the king of Egypt,"  
sc. Amasis. The story is told in Herodot. ii. 172. See also Humphry on Theophilus *ad Autolyc.* p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> ab impurato homine, "by some lewd fellow." "Horum vanitatem etiam Justinus Martyr *Apolog.* ii. p. 57, ab artificum impietate probat, ὅτι οἱ τούτων τεχνῖται ἀσελγεῖσ τε καὶ πάσαν ἀδίκιαν ἔχουσι." CELLARIUS. Quod et Celsus ipse fatebatur apud Origensem i. § 20: τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας, inquit Origenes, εἰς ἴδια τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐκτιθέμενος καὶ ὑποκατασκευαζεῖ λέγων αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ νομίζειν χειροποιητὸν θεούς, ἐπει τῷ μὴ εὐλογοῦν ἔστι τὰ ὑπὸ φαντατάτων δημιουργῶν καὶ μοχθηρῶν τὸ ήθος εἰργασμένα εἶναι θεούς πολλάκις καὶ ὑπὸ δόξικων ἀνθρώπων κατασκευασθέντα. HERALDUS.

<sup>16</sup> suæ nativitatis. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xli.: "sed plane non sentiunt has injurias et contumelias suæ fabricationis dii vestri, sicut nec obsequia." LINDNER. The meaning

of the next sentence is: "But perhaps this stone or wood or silver, as the case may be, is not yet a god. What is the precise time then at which its divinity commences?"

<sup>17</sup> funditur, "it is cast;" scalpitur, "is chiselled;" plumbatur, "is soldered;" constructur, "is put together;" erigitur, "is set upright." Comp. Arnobius vi. 16.

<sup>18</sup> nec adhuc, i.q. neendum. See Hand, *Tursellin.* i. p. 166, who cites Virgil *Æn.* xi. 70:

Cui neque fulgor adhuc neendum sua forma recessit.

<sup>19</sup> consecratur. The form of consecration is described by Livy, Lib. ix. and Valerius Maximus, i. i.

[Oratur: ex Martiale viii. 24:  
Qui fingit sacros auro vel marmore vultus,  
Non facit ille deos; qui rogat, ille facit.  
J. GR.]

<sup>20</sup> illum voluit, sc. deum esse. Tertullian cap. 5: "apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensatur: nisi homini deus placuerit, deus non erit." LINDNER. Comp.

## C. XXIV.

*Even the mute creation have a more correct conception of your gods, as they shew by their contemptuous treatment of their senseless representations.*

<sup>1</sup>Quanto verius de diis vestris animalia muta naturaliter judicant? mures, hirundines, milui: non sentire eos sciunt: norunt, inculcant, incident: ac nisi abigatis, in ipso dei vestri ore nidificant. Araneæ vero faciem ejus intexunt et de ipso capite <sup>2</sup>sua fila suspendunt: vos tergitis, mundatis, eruditis: et illos, quos facitis, <sup>3</sup>protegitis et timetis: dum unusquisque vestrum non cogitat, prius se <sup>3</sup>debere deum nosse, quam colere: dum inconsulte gestiunt parentibus obedire: dum fieri malunt

Horace, *Sat.* i. viii. 3: and for the meaning of *voluit* see Woodham's Tertullian Ch. xiii. note 2.

Ch. XXIV. <sup>1</sup>Quanto vero *judicant* is the MS. reading. For the allusion comp. Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* vi. 16: ita non videtis sub istorum simulacrorum cassis stellionæ soriæ blattasque lucifugas nidamenta ponere atque habitare, spurcitas *huc omnes atque alia usibus accommodata conducere?* non in ore aliquando simulacri ab araneis ordiri retia? non hirundines denique intra ipsos sedium circumvolantes tholos jacularier stercoris splenias, et modo ipsos vultus, modo numinum ora depingere, barbam, oculos, nasos, aliasque omnes partes, in quascunque se detulerit deonerasi proluvies podicis? See also Tertullian, *Apolo-*g. c. xii. with Woodham's note; Clemens Alex. *Cohort.* p. 46; Lactant. *Instit.* v. 12. § 12; Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 36, p. 136, ed. *Hum-*phry.

*naturaliter*, i. e. leges suas sequentia et instincta veritate naturæ, as it is expressed by Arnobius, *l. c.*

*Norunt*, "they have a correct conception of." *Inculcant* i. q. cal-

cant, conculcant. [Hæc impediabant *μηνισκοί*, Suidas, *J. gr.*]

<sup>2</sup> *protegitis et timetis*, h. e. *protectitis et tamen timetis*. So below, ch. xxvi. 2: Regulus auguria servavit et captus est: xxxv. 2, vos adulteria prohibetis et facitis. See Hand, *Tursell.* ii. p. 495: Büntemann ad Lactant. *D. I.* iii. 11. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *avaritia consecrata est*. Davies compares an apposite passage from Lactantius, *D. I.* ii. 6. §§ 2, 3: tanta homines imaginum cupiditas tenet, ut jam vilia oracula ducantur illa quæ vera sunt: auro scilicet, gemmis et ebore delectantur. Horum pulchritudo ac nitor præstringit oculos, nec ullam religionem putant, ubique illa non fulserint. Itaque sub obtentu deorum avaritia et cupiditas colitur.

<sup>4</sup> *quorum ritus*, as if *Romanorum superstition* and not *Romana* had preceded. Comp. ch. xxv. 2. For the argument, see Leland, *Necessity of Chr. Rev.* Part I. ch. vii.

<sup>5</sup> *nudi discurrent*: The priests of Pan at the Lupercalia, festus ille impurorum sacrorum dies, xv. kal. Mart., as it is called by Cicero *Philip.* ii. 34. Comp. Virgil, *Aen.*

alieni erroris accessio, quam sibi credere: dum c. xxiv.  
 nihil ex his, quæ timent, norunt: sic in auro et  
 argento <sup>3</sup>avaritia consecrata est: sic statuarum ina-  
 nium consignata forma: sic nata Romana super-  
 4 stitio. <sup>4</sup>Quorum ritus si percenseas, ridenda quam  
 multa, multa etiam miseranda sunt. <sup>5</sup>Nudi cruda  
 hieme discurrunt: <sup>6</sup>alii incedunt pileati, scuta vetera  
 circumferunt, <sup>7</sup>pelles cædunt, <sup>8</sup>mendicantes vicatim  
 5 deos ducunt. <sup>9</sup>Quædam fana semel anno adire  
 permittunt, <sup>10</sup>quædam in totum nefas visere, <sup>11</sup>est

The religious  
rites and  
services of  
the Romans,  
cruel and  
licentious, or  
ridiculous.

viii. 507; Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 257; Lactantius, *D. I.* i. xxi. 45; Plutarch,

*vit. Anton.* p. 921.

<sup>6</sup> alii incedunt pileati. The Salii, priests of Mars, who every March carried about the aenaria, wearing their conical caps called apices. Plutarch, *Num.* pag. 68; Livy, i. 20; Dionys. Halicarn. ii. 129; Polyb. *legat.* xiii.

<sup>7</sup> pelles cædunt; "beat drums." Comp. Ovid *Fast.* iv. 211; Phædrus, Lib. iii. *fab.* 20, 7: de Gallis Cybeles sacerdotibus: Detracts pelle (*asini*) sibi fecerunt tympana. Catull. lxiii. 8; Suetonius, *Aug.* 68.

<sup>8</sup> mendicantes deos, chiefly Isis, and the Magna Mater, whence the term μητραγύρται was applied to her priests who went about begging with the image of their goddess in a shrine on the back of an ass. Comp. Ovid. *Pont.* i. 39, 40:

Ante deūm matrem cornu tibicen adunco

Cum canit, exiguae quis stipis æra neget?

Hence Tertullian, *Apol.* 42: non sufficimus et hominibus et diis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre. Comp. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* p. 49; Apulej. *Metam.* viii. 24.

Vicatim. The MS. has *vicantes*, for which Davies suggests *viantes*; Gronovius, *subantes*.

<sup>9</sup> quædam fana semel anno adire. In Cereris et Proserpinæ fānum apud Arcades feminis τὸν πάντα ἐστιν ἔσοδος χρόνον· οἱ δὲ ἀνδρες οὐ πλέον ἡ ἄπαξ κατὰ ἑτοῖς ἔκαστον ἐσ αὐτῷ ἐστάσι: Pausanias, *Arcad.* cap. xxxi. Thebis etiam Dindymense, quæ Mater deorum est, sacrarium μιᾶ ἐφ' ἕκαστων ἑτῶν ημέρᾳ τὸ ιερὸν δυοίγειν νομίζουσιν, Idem *Bœot.* cap. xxv. **CELLARIUS.**

<sup>10</sup> quædam in totum nefas visere. Tale erat Neptuni templum Mantinea: ἔσοδος δὲ αὐθράπτοις οὔτε τότε ἐσ αὐτῷ ήν, οὔτε ἔχει ημῶν ἐστιν. Pausanias. *Arcad.* cap. v. **CELLARIUS.** See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* i. 279, where all the passages bearing on this are collected.

<sup>11</sup> est quo viro non licet, sc. ire. Sacra Bonæ deæ, Cereris, et Vestæ. Lactantius, Lib. iii. cap. xx. sect. 4, ubi tres divas has conjungit. De Bona Dea separatis Cicero, *Arusp. resp.* cap. xvii. De Cerere Catanensi et Ennensi, ii. *Verr.* iv. cap. 45 et 49. **CELLARIUS.** The reader of Juvenal will not need to be refer-

C. XXIV. quo viro non licet, <sup>12</sup>nonnulla absque feminis sacra sunt: <sup>13</sup>etiam servo quibusdam cærimonii interesse piaculare flagitium est. <sup>14</sup>*Alia* sacra coronat univira, alia multivira, et magna religione conquiritur, quæ <sup>15</sup>plura possit adulteria numerare. Quid? qui <sup>16</sup>sanguine suo libat et vulneribus suis 6 supplicat, <sup>17</sup>non profanus melius esset, quam sic religiosus? aut cui <sup>18</sup>exta sunt obscena demessa, <sup>19</sup>quomodo deum violat, qui hoc modo placat! quum, si eunuchos Deus vellet, posset procreare, non facere. Quis non intelligat male sanos et 7 <sup>20</sup>vanæ et perditæ mentis in ista despere, et ipsam errantium turbam mutua sibi patrocinia pree-

red to *Satir.* vi. 338, sqq. for illustration of this statement.

[Feminae in Bacchi templum. Schol. Lycoophr. *Alexandr.* p. 185. *J. GR.*] Most editions have *est: quædam viro non licet*: Davies suggests the insertion of *ire*.

<sup>12</sup> *nonnulla absque feminis sacra, Herculis scilicet.* A. Gellius, Lib. xi. cap. 6: "mulieres Herculaneo sacrificio abstinenter. Causam adfert Macrobius *Saturnal.* Lib. i. cap. xii. CELLARIUS.

Cf. Aurelius Victor *de Origin. Gent. Rom.* cap. vi; Silius Italic. *Punic.* Lib. iii; Propert. *Eleg. ad Hercul.* Lib. iv.

<sup>13</sup> *etiam servo quibusdam cærimonii interesse etc.* [etiam nihil mirum, quum nec ad communionem civitatis venire posset. Meurs. *Athen.* cap. 5 ex Dion. *Chryst.* *J. GR.*] Cæmoniis sacrorum Herculis, cuius rei neglectionem in Appio et Potitius punitam tradunt Livius ix. c. 29 et

Val. Maximus, Lib. i. cap. i. num.

17. CELLARIUS. Etiam ad Matutæ seu Leucothœs sacra servis introitus non dabatur. Ovidius *Fast.* vi. 478: 551 seqq. DAVIES. Comp. Lactant. *D. I.* ii. 7. 15.

[Piaculare flagitium. An piaculare (Deo) et flagitium (hominibus). *J. GR.*]

<sup>14</sup> *alia sacra coronat univira.* Tertullianus *de Monogam.* cap. xvii.: *Fortuna muliebri coronam non imponit, nisi univira; sicut nec matri Matutæ.* CELLARIUS. Junonis, Vestæ et Telluris sacerdotes omnes univiræ. Vid. Hieronym. *adv. Jovinian.* i. c. vi, c. xxx: Dionys. Hali-carn. viii. fol. 526. ELMENHORST. Comp. Tertullian, *Exhort. Cast.* c. ii; Ruperti on Valer. Maxim. p. 104.

<sup>15</sup> *plura adulteria.* Hujus generis abominanda sacra fuerunt τὰ ἄντες Ἀνατρίδος apud Armenios. Vide Strabon. lib. xi *extremo* et Eustath. ad *Periegeta* v. 846. CELLARIUS.

stare? Hic defensio communis furoris est furentium **C. XXIV.**  
multitudo.

<sup>1</sup>At tamen ista ipsa superstitione Romanis dedit, **C. XXV.**  
auxit, fundavit imperium, quum non tam virtute,  
<sup>2</sup> quam religione et pietate pollerent. <sup>You ascribe</sup> **Nimirum in-**  
signis et nobilis justitia Romana ab ipsis imperii  
nascentis incunabulis auspicata est. Nonne in ortu  
suo et scelere collecti, et muniti immanitatis suæ  
terrore creverunt? nam asylo prima plebs congre-  
gata est: confluxerant perditæ, facinorosi, incesti,  
sicarii, proditores: et ut ipse Romulus, imperator et  
rector, populum suum facinore præcelleret, <sup>3</sup>parrici-  
<sup>3</sup>dium fecit. Hæc prima sunt auspicia religiosæ civi-

<sup>the grandeur and prosperity of the Romans to their excessive devotion; whereas on the contrary their greatness proceeded from irreligion, and prosperous acts of sacrifice.</sup>

Comp. II Maccabees i. 13, 15; and  
see Bochart. *Phaleg.* cap. 19, Lib. iv.  
p. 277.

Adulteria need not imply more  
than "marriages." See below, note  
on ch. xxxi. § 5.

<sup>16</sup> sanguine suo libant. The votaries of Cybele and Bellona.  
See below, xxx. 5; Tertullian, *Apol.*  
ch. xxv.; Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* i. 17;  
Lactant. *Epitom.* c. 28, p. 1249. ed.  
Bünnemann; Apulej. *Metam.* viii. 27;  
Lampridius, *Hist. August. Script.* p.  
49.

<sup>17</sup> non, pro nonne.

<sup>18</sup> extra obecena. Semiviri Galli,  
Cybeles sacerdotis, descriptio. Supra  
cap. xxi. *CELLARIUS.*

<sup>19</sup> quomodo, "how greatly!"

<sup>20</sup> vanæ mentis so. homines. Cf.  
supra cap. viii. note 10.

*Defensio communis furoris.* Au-  
gustine *de C. D.* vi. 10: Insanitatis  
patrocinium insanientium turba.  
WOWERUS. So Juvenal. *Sat.* ii. 46:

Defendit numerus, juncteque umbone pha-  
langes.

Ch. XXV. <sup>1</sup> Attamen, "but, you  
say." Compare with Cæcilius' argu-  
ment (ch. vi. § 1) Valer. Max.  
*Eempl. memor.* i. § 8; Propertius,  
Lib. i. *Eleg. de Romulo*:

Urbis virtutisque parens sic crescere sue-  
vit,

Qui tulit aprico frigida castra Lare.  
and with that of Octavius, Tertul-  
lian, *Apol.* c. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> nimirum, ironical; as in Ch.  
xi. note 14.

*Auspicata est*, "began." So § 3,  
*auspicia* are "beginnings."

<sup>3</sup> *parricidium fecit*, "committed  
an unnatural murder." The word  
probably originally was applied to  
the murder of a parent, afterwards  
to any atrocious murder. See Long  
on Cicero, *Verr.* p. 574. Comp. also  
ch. xxx. 2, and xxxi. 10; and for the  
argument, Augustine *C. D.* iii. 6;  
Justin, *Hist.* xxviii. 2. 8.

C. XXV. tatis. Mox alienas virgines jam despontatas, jam  
<sup>4</sup> destinatas, et nonnullas <sup>5</sup> de matrimonio mulierculas,  
<sup>6</sup> sine more rapuit, violavit, illusit: et cum earum parentibus, id est, cum sacerdis suis bellum miscuit, propinquum sanguinem fudit. Quid irreligiosius, quid audacius, quid ipsa sceleris confidentia tutius? Jam finitimos agro pellere; civitates proximas <sup>4</sup> evertere cum templis et altaribus; <sup>7</sup> captos cogere; damnis alienis et suis sceleribus adolescere, cum Romulo, regibus ceteris et postremis ducibus disciplina communis est. Ita quidquid Romani tenent, colunt, possident, audaciæ præda est. Tempa omnia <sup>5</sup>  
<sup>8</sup> de manubiis, id est, de ruinis urbium, de spoliis deorum, de cædibus sacerdotum. Hoc insultare et illudere est, victis religionibus servire et captivas eas post victorias adorare. Nam adorare quæ manu

<sup>4</sup> *destinatas*: "assigned in marriage." Comp. Cicero, *de Harusp. Resp.* 3; cui me præripere despontatas jam et destinata gloria valde est iniquum. See Hildebrand ad *Apulej.* Vol. I. p. 277.

<sup>5</sup> *de matrimonio mulierculas*, i. e. maritatas. On the peculiar use of *de* see Hand, *Tursellin.* ii. p. 203. Comp. also ch. vii. note 7.

*Mulier* is frequently opposed to *virgo*: see Bünemann on Lactant. *Div. Inst.* I. xvii. 8, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> *sine more*, "without precedent": allusive to Virgil. *Aen.* viii. 635:  
*raptas sine more Sabinas.*

*Illusit*, sensu obsceno, N. Heinsius *Advers.* ii. 9; Comp. Lactantius *D. I.* vi. 23. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *captos cogere*, "to drive captive."

*Disciplina*, "established policy."

On the various meanings of this word consult Woodham, Tertullian *Apol.* p. 118. By *postremi duces* are meant the generals who lived towards the decline of the republic.

<sup>8</sup> *de manubiis*. *Manubia*, according to Asconius, are "præda imperatoris pro portione de hostibus capta." See Long on Cicero, *Verr.* p. 147, and comp. Tertullian. *I. c.*: Prudentius *c. Symmach.* Lib. II. § 2.

<sup>9</sup> *sacrilegium consecrare*. Comp. above, ch. xxiv. § 3. *avaritia consecrata est.*

<sup>10</sup> *impiatum est*, "sacrilege was committed by them."

<sup>11</sup> *quos postulaverant*, sc. ut contra se pugnaturi in arenam descendenter. OEHLER. Some have *quod postulaverant* [nempe votis in Capitolio nuncupatis, si bellum recte cessisset. J. GR.]

ceperis, <sup>9</sup>sacrilegium est consecrare, non numina. C. XXV.  
 6 Toties ergo Romanis <sup>10</sup>impiatum est, quoties trium-  
 phatum : tot de diis spolia, quot de gentibus et  
 tropaea. Igitur Romani non ideo tanti, quod reli-  
 7 giosi ; sed quod impune sacrilegi. Neque enim  
 potuerunt in ipsis bellis deos adjutores habere,  
 adversus quos arma rapuerunt, et <sup>11</sup>quos postula-  
 verant, detriumphatos colere cœperunt. Quid autem  
 isti dii pro Romanis possunt, qui nihil pro suis ad-  
 8 versus eorum arma valuerunt ? Romanorum enim  
 vernaculos deos novimus : Romulus, <sup>12</sup>Picus, <sup>13</sup>Tibe-  
 rinus et <sup>14</sup>Consus et <sup>15</sup>Pilumnus ac Picumnus. <sup>16</sup>Clo-  
 acinam Tatius et invenit et coluit : Pavorem Hosti-  
 lius atque Pallorem : mox a nescio quo <sup>17</sup>Febris  
 9 dedicata. Hæc <sup>18</sup>alumna urbis istius superstitionis,  
 morbi et malæ valetudines. Sane et Acca Laren-

It certainly could not be due to the superior gods, because these became their tutelar gods by right of conquest, upon desecration of their proper worship. It must then have been due, if to any, to the inferior gods, the original objects of their own worship.

*Detriumphatos.* [Tertull. *Apol.* xxvii : illos nunquam magis detri-  
umphamus. J. GR.]

<sup>12</sup> *Picus.* *AEn.* vii. v. 48 :

Fauno Picus pater, ipse parentem  
Te Saturne referit.

<sup>13</sup> *Tiberinus.* *AEnid.* viii. vs. 31 :  
Dionys. Halic. *Antiqq. Rom.* Lib. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Consus.* Tertullianus de Spec-  
taculis cap. 5 : Ludi, Consualia  
dicti, initio Neptunum honorabant :  
eundem enim et Consum vocant :  
Liv. i. c. 9 ; Varro, *de L. L.* p. 18 ;  
Dion. Halic. *Antiq.* 11. p. 100, ed.  
*Sylburg* ; Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* iii. 23 ;  
Augustine *C. D.* iv. 11.

<sup>15</sup> *Pilumnus ac Picumnus*, ut ait  
Servius, fratres fuerunt et dii. Ho-  
rum alter usum stercorandorum in-  
venit agrorum, unde et Sterqui-  
linius dictus est. Pilumnus vero  
pinsendi frumenti; unde a pistoribus

colitur : ad *AEn.* ix. v. 4 ; Cf. *AEn.*  
v. 76.

<sup>16</sup> *Cloacinam.* Liv. i. 10 ; Lac-  
tant. *D. I. Lib.* i. c. xx. § 11 ; Ter-  
tullian, *contra Marcion.* i. 18 ; *de  
Pall.* c. 4.

*Pavorem.* Liv. i. 27 : "Tullus  
in re trepidâ vovit templâ Pallori  
ac Pavori."

<sup>17</sup> *Febris dedicata*; ad minus no-  
cendum, ut Valerius Maximus dicit,  
Lib. ii. cap. v. Fanum ejus fuit in  
Palatio, Cicer. iii. N. D. cap. 25.  
CELLARIUS.

Comp. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* § 33,  
p. 33 ; Lectant. i. 20, 17 ; Cic. *de N. D.*  
iii. 25 ; Ælian *Var. Hist.* xii. 2.

<sup>18</sup> *alumna*, "homebred."

*Acca Larentia* was the nurse of  
Romulus, Liv. i. 4 ; Plutarch, *vit.  
Rom.* p. 19 ; Plin. *N. H.* xviii. 2 ;  
A. Gell. *N. A.* vi. 7 ; Tertullian.

C. XXV. tia et <sup>19</sup> Flora, meretrices propudosæ, inter morbos Romanorum et deos computandæ. Isti <sup>20</sup> scilicet adversus ceteros, qui in gentibus colebantur, Romanorum imperium protulerunt. Neque enim eos 10 aduersum suos homines vel Mars Thracius, vel Jupiter Creticus, vel <sup>21</sup> Juno nunc Argiva, nunc Samia, nunc Pœna: vel <sup>22</sup> Diana Taurica, vel mater Idæa, vel <sup>23</sup> Ægyptia illa, non numina, sed portenta, juverunt.

Nor yet was it due to the sanctity of their priests, who are notorious for having practised every species of lewdness in the very temples of their gods.

Nisi forte <sup>24</sup> apud istos major castitas virginis 11 num, aut religio sanctior sacerdotum: <sup>25</sup> quum pœne in pluribus virginibus, ut quæ inconsultius se viris miscuissent, <sup>26</sup> Vesta sane nesciente, sit incestum vindicatum: in residuis impunitatem fecerit non castitas tutior, sed impudicitia felicior. <sup>27</sup> Ubi 12 autem magis a sacerdotibus, quam inter aras et

*Apol.* c. xiii; *Augustine de C. D.* xviii. 21. Vide Index s. v.

<sup>19</sup> *Flora*: Gell. *N. A.* ix. c. 20; Lactant. *D. I.* i. xx. 6; *Augustine, C. D.* iv. 8; Ovid, *Fast.* v. 195, sqq. Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. mentions the dedication of a temple to this goddess by Tiberius.

<sup>20</sup> *scilicet*, ironical, as in x. 5.

<sup>21</sup> *Juno nunc Argiva*. So called, because she was supposed to have been born at Argos, which Pindar calls "Ἡρας δῶμα, Νεμ. x. 2. Hence a festival, "Ἡραῖα, was kept here in her honour.

*Nunc Samia, nunc Pœna. Ἀν.* i. 12; Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* p. 40; *Origen, c. Cels.* iv. § 48. p. 196.

<sup>22</sup> *Diana Taurica*. See note on ch. xxx. § 6, and comp. ch. vi. § 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Ægyptia portenta*. This may

be taken from *Juv. Satir.* xv. v. 1: *Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens Ægyptus portenta colat?*

<sup>24</sup> *apud istos*: "among your countrymen," sc. the Romans.

<sup>25</sup> *quum*, i. q. *quum tamē*: "whereas." Comp. below, § 13.

*In pluribus virginibus etc.* Respicere videtur Minucius ad id quod paulo ante conscriptum hunc dialogum contigit: Antoninus enim, Severi filius, τὰς τῆς Ἐστίας λεπίας ζώσας κατώρυττεν, ὡς μὴ φυλαττούσας τὴν παρθενίαν, ut refert Herodianus Lib. iv. cap. xi. At solum τέτταρας τῶν del παρθένων διπέτεινεν, ὥν μίαν βίᾳ, δύσαγε καὶ ιδόντα, ἡσχύνκει, si Dionis fides Lib. lxxvii. p. 877. DAVIES. Cf. Sueton. *Vit. Domitian.* viii. 8; Plin. *Epist.* iv. 11; Plutarch. *Quæst. Rom.* pag. 284.

delubra, conducuntur stupra, tractantur lenocinia, c. XXVI.  
adulteria meditantur? frequentius denique in ædi-  
tuorum cellulis, quam in ipsis lupanaribus, flagrans  
libido <sup>28</sup> defungitur.

13 Et tamen ante eos, Deo dispensante, diu regna  
tenuerunt Assyrii, Medi, Persæ, Græci etiam, et  
Ægyptii, quum Pontifices et <sup>29</sup> Arvales et Salios et  
Vestales et Augures non haberent, nec <sup>30</sup> pullos ca-  
vea reclusos, quorum cibo vel fastidio res summa re-  
1 geretur. Jam enim venio ad illa auspicia et auguria  
Romana, quæ summo labore collecta <sup>1</sup> testatus est et  
pœnitenter omissa, et observata feliciter. Clodius  
scilicet, et Flaminius, et Junius ideo exercitus per-  
diderunt, quod pullorum <sup>2</sup> solistimum tripudium  
exspectandum non putaverunt? Quid Regulus?  
2 nonne auguria servavit, <sup>3</sup> et captus est? <sup>4</sup> Mancinus

The disposal of kingdoms was never in the hands of these fictitious deities, since other nations before the Romans had their share of dominion, long ere priestcraft and the trade of augury was known. Futility of the *auguries* argued from the observance or neglect of them having in so many signal instances proved *immaterial*.

<sup>28</sup> *Vesta sane nesciente*, “without the knowledge, it must be confessed, of Vesta;” yet she ought to have known, had she really been a goddess.

*Incestum*; neuter substantive, as in ch. xxxi. § 3: see Bünnemann on *Lactantius*, p. 110.

<sup>29</sup> *ubi autem magis etc.* The construction is: “ubi magis conducuntur stupra, quam a sacerdotibus, inter aras et delubra.” This is no exaggeration; see the testimony of Suetonius, *Tiber.* c. 44; Ovid. *A. A.* i. and iii; Juven. *Sat.* vi. 488:

apud Isiacæ sacraria lene.

*Sat.* ix. 24:

quo non prostat femina templo?

*Comp.* Tertullian *Apol.* c. xv.

<sup>28</sup> *defungitur*, opere suo scil., “effects its purpose.”

<sup>29</sup> *Arvales*: The Arvales fratres, twelve in number, were esta-

blished by Romulus, as priests of Ceres and Bacchus: A. Gell. *N. A.* Lib. vi. cap. 7.

<sup>30</sup> *pullos etc.* “cooped-up chickens, by whose appetite or loathing of food the most momentous concerns of the state might be regulated.”

Ch. XXVI. <sup>1</sup> *Testatus est*: sc. Cæcilius. See above ch. vii. §§ 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *solistimum tripudium*: auguri genus ex pastu avium, quod Cicero exposuit Lib. ii. *de Divinat.* c. xxxiv. Adda ejusdem Lib. vi. *Epist.* vi. § 13, et Liv. x. c. 40. *CELLARIUS*.

<sup>3</sup> *et captus est*. On the use of *et* for *et tamen*, comp. ch. xxiii. § 1.

*Regulus*, i. e. M. Atilius, whose history is known from Horace, *Od.* Lib. iii. 5; See also Valer. *Max.* i. i. 14; Augustine *de C. D.* i. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Mancinus*. Hostilius, de-

C. XXVI. religionem tenuit, et sub jugum missus est et deditus. Pullos edaces habuit et <sup>5</sup>Paulus, apud Cannas tamen cum majore Romani populi parte prostratus est. <sup>6</sup>C. Cæsar ne ante brumam in Africam navigia <sup>3</sup>transmitteret auguriis et auspiciis renitentibus sprevit: eo facilius et navigavit et vicit.

Futility of  
the oracles,  
argued from  
the frequent  
failure of  
their pre-  
dictions.

Quæ vero et quanta de oraculis prosequar? <sup>4</sup>post mortem <sup>7</sup>Amphiaraus ventura respondit, qui proditum iri se ob monile ab uxore nescivit. Tiresias cæcus futura videbat, qui præsentia non videbat. De Pyrrho <sup>8</sup>Ennius Apollinis Pythii re- <sup>5</sup>sponsa confinxit, quum jam Apollo versus facere

feated in a campaign against Numantia, and compelled to an infamous surrender. Flor. Lib. II. c. 18; Eutrop. IV. 8; Valer. Max. I. 67; Velleius Paterc. II. 90.5; Augustin. *de Civ. Dei*, III. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Paulus. L. Æmilius, defeated by Hannibal. Cf. Cicer. *de Div.* II. 33; Liv. *Hist.* xxii. 47.

*Reipublicæ. Res publica* sæpe viros denotat, ex quibus constat et componitur civitas. Vide J. F. Gronovium *ad Livii xxvi. 35; xxviii. 25.*

DAVIES.

<sup>7</sup> C. Cæsar. Comp. Cic. *de Div.* II. 24; Sueton. *Cæsar*. cc. 59, 77.

<sup>8</sup> Amphiaraus. See Horace, III. 16. 11; also Sophocl. *Electr.* v. 840:

οὐλα γάρ ἀνακτ' Ἀμφιάρεων  
χρυσοδέτοις ἱρκεσι  
κρυψθέντ' ἀπάταιστοι.

<sup>9</sup> Ennius. Hæc habet ex Ciceronis *de Divin.* II. c. 56: "Herodotum eur veraciorem ducam Ennio? num minus ille potuit de Cræso, quam de Pyrrho fingere Ennius? quis enim est, qui credat Apollinis ex oraculo Pyrrho esse responsum:

*Aio te, Ξαίρα, Romanos vincere posse.*

Primum Latinè Apollo nunquam locutus est: deinde ista sors inaudita Graecis est: præterea Pyrrhi temporibus jam Apollo versus facere desiderat etc." Illum versum memorant Quintilianus VII. 9; Aurelius Victor *de Vir. Ill.* c. 35; Hieronymus ad *Esaiæ* cap. xlii. col. 315.

DAVIES.

*Ambiguum*, "double-meaning."

<sup>10</sup> φιλοποίησιν, id est, quasi cum Philippo facere, as Cicero interprets it, *de Divin.* II. 57.

<sup>11</sup> possit videri industriam casus imitatus: "chance may possibly seem like design." Comp. above ch. xiv. § 8. The expression is borrowed from Cicero, *de Div.* II. 21.

<sup>12</sup> *spiritus insinceri*, "unclean spirits," subsequently called *impuri*. Clemens Alex. *Cohort.* § 56, p. 42, ed. Potter: βδελυρά δύτες καὶ πνεύματα δικάθαρτα.....περὶ τὸς τάφους καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα καλινδούμενα. This account of the demons is imitated from Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. xxii. by Minucius, and from him

desisset: cujus tunc cautum illud et ambiguum C. XXVI.  
 defecit oraculum, quum et politiores homines et  
 minus creduli esse cœperunt: et Demosthenes, quod  
 sciret responsa simulata, ὄφιλιππίζειν Pythiam que-  
 rebatur. At nonnumquam tamen veritatem vel  
 auspicia vel oracula tetigere. Quamquam inter  
 multa mendacia videri <sup>10</sup> possit industriam casus  
 imitatus; adgrediar tamen fontem ipsum erroris  
 et pravitatis, unde omnis caligo ista manavit, et  
 altius eruere et aperire manifestius.

<sup>7</sup> <sup>11</sup>Spiritus sunt insinceri, vagi, a cœlesti vigore  
<sup>12</sup>terrenis labibus et cupiditatibus degravati. Isti acknowledged

It is now time  
 to tell you  
 who are the  
 authors and  
 patrons of  
 these oracles,  
 and of idola-  
 try in general.  
 They are cer-  
 tain evil and  
 vagabond  
 spirits whose  
 existence un-  
 der the name  
 of *demons*, is

by Lactantius II. 14 sqq. See the  
 remarks of Bp. Kaye, *Eccles. Hist.*  
 p. 215, and comp. Origen c. *Cels.*  
*Lib. iii. p. 132*: οὗτος δὲ (sc. δὲ Ιησοῦς) δωματορένει τὰς τούτων  
 πτυοδοχάς, ὡς μοχθηρῶν δαι-  
 μόνων, καὶ τόπους ἐπὶ γῆς  
 προκατειληφότων, ἐπει τῆς  
 καθαρωτέρας οὐ δύνανται  
 ἐφάψασθαι χώρας καὶ θειο-  
 τέρας, ἵνα μὴ φθάνουσιν αἱ πτυ-  
 τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀντρῶν μυρίων  
 κακῶν παχύτητες: Tatian *Orat. ad Gr.* cap. 16, p. 155; Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* v. 8; Augustin. *C. D.* ii. 23  
 sqq.; Prudentius, *hymn. in S. Vincent.* stroph. 20 and 21.

*Vagi etc.* Philosophi Christiani  
 docuerunt, Deum quum mundum  
 creasset, sibi quidem servasse cu-  
 ram supremam et universalem rerum  
 omnium, angelis autem demandasse  
 hominum atque eorum, quae sub  
 cœlo sunt, prociationem, ut loquitur  
 Justinus *Apol.* ii. c. 6: sive  
 particularem rerum singularium  
 providentiam, ut loquitur Athenas  
 agoras *legat. pro Christ.* c. xxii.

Quum autem pars angelorum defi-  
 ceret a Deo dejectos esse eos a man-  
 data sibi provincia et vagos ita ef-  
 fectos; quippe quorum curæ nulla  
 rerum creatarum permitti ulterius  
 a Deo potuerit, sed qui ipse jam  
 res ceterorum angelorum fidei cre-  
 ditas iuvadere, quascunque pos-  
 sent, et perdere conarentur. GRU-  
 NERUS.

<sup>12</sup> *terrenis labibus.* Lactantius,  
 II. 14. 1: terræ contagione macu-  
 lati substantiae coelestis dignitatem  
 amitterent. The primary meaning  
 of *labes* is, "a sinking," "falling:"  
 thus it is applied to a "land-slip,"  
 in Cicero, *de Divin.* 1. 43, § 97,  
*labes agri Privernat.* Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* ii. v. 1146, moenia mundi Ex-  
 pugnata dabunt labem: Arnobius  
*adv. Nat.* v. 40 speaks of labem  
 imbris e caelo. See note on ch. 17,  
 § 7. Hence it comes to signify any  
 "degrading fault;" particularly "cri-  
 minal intercourse," as in Seneca  
*Hippolyt.* v. 667; Ovid. *Heroid.* iv.  
 32 (ubi cf. Ruhnken.) and *Amor.* III.  
 5. 43; Propert. i. 11. 15.

C. XXVI. igitur spiritus, posteaquam <sup>13</sup> simplicitatem substantię suę onusti et immersi vitiis perdiderunt, <sup>14</sup> ad solarium calamitatis suę non desinunt perdit i jam perdere, et depravati errorem pravitatis infundere, et alienati a Deo, inductis pravis religionibus a Deo segregare. Eos spiritus dæmonas esse <sup>15</sup> poetæ sciunt, philosophi disserunt, Socrates novit, qui ad nutum et arbitrium <sup>16</sup> adsidentis sibi dæmonis vel declinabat negotia, vel <sup>17</sup> petebat. <sup>18</sup> Magi quoque 9

by your own  
poets and  
philosophers:  
their main  
endeavour is  
to draw men  
off from al-  
legiance to  
the one true  
and supreme  
God, and  
make as  
many as they  
can partakers  
in the guilt of  
their own re-  
volt from  
Him.

<sup>13</sup> simplicitatem substantię suę. Putabant veteres, dæmonas tenuioribus primum et s̄ethereis, post lapsum vero crassioribus corporibus illigatos fuisse: quam opinionem foverunt Origenes et Augustinus. Vide P. D. Huetii *Origeniana*, Lib. ii. Quesst. v. §. 8. DAVIES. Athenag. *legat. pro Chr.* p. 30: ψυχὴ τοῦ ὑλικοῦ προσλαβόντα καὶ ἐπί- συγκραθέσα πνεύματος ..... κάτω πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια βλέπουσα, οἱ μένον αἷμα καὶ σάρξ, οὐκέτι πνεῦμα καθαρὸν γεγνομένη. Arnobius *adv. Nat.* i. 23 says of them, that they "non nosse coelestia et in hac rerum materia crassiore conditionis sua sorte versari."

<sup>14</sup> ad solarium calamitatis sue. Lactant. *D. I.* II. xiv. 11: contami- nati ac perdit i per omnem terram vagantur: et solarium perditio- nis sue perdendis hominibus operantur: *ib. c. xvi.* 9, 10, 20: suis vitiis perdit i sevunt et gras- santur, ut perdant: cap. xvii. 10; Tertullian. *Apol.* xxii: operatio eo- rum est hominum eversio: Tatian. *Or. ad Gr.* p. 29 c: τέχνη τῆς θεο- σεβείας τοὺς δυθράπτοντε παρατρέ- ποντας.

<sup>15</sup> poeta sciunt, "the poets attest their existence." Comp. above ch.

xxii. 8. Lactant. *I. c.* § 7: eos poetæ et sciunt esse dæmonas et loquuntur: Hesiodus ita tradit (*Opp. v.* 122): οἱ μὲν δαιμονές εἰσι Δίδε μεγάλοι διά- βολοι, ἐπιχθόνοι, φύλακες θητῶν δι- θράπτονται.

<sup>16</sup> adsidentis dæmonis. [παρέ- δρενοντος. Cuper. 4 *Obs.* p. 49: ergo non insiti, non innati, sed extra appellantis. J. GR.]

Comp. Tertull. *de anim.* c. xxviii; Justin M. *Apol.* ii. p. 65; Lucian *de Calum.*, ubi de Hephaestione: καὶ τέλος ἔθνον παρέδρω καὶ ἀλεξικά- κοφ θεῶφ: Davies quotes in illustration Euseb. *H. E.* iv. c. 7; Rufinus *H. E.* ii. 13; Sulpic. Sever. *Dial.* iii. 8.

<sup>17</sup> petebat, i. q. appetebat, "desired." According to Plato, the Dæmon of Socrates dissuaded him only: for he more than once puts into his mouth this assertion: δει διποτέπει με, προτρέπει δὲ οὐ- ποτε: *Apol. Socr.* § 19: *Theages*, § 10, *Phædr.* § 43. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxii, gives an ironical turn to this: "ipse dæmonium adhæsisse a pueri- tia dicitur de hortatorum. Plane, a bono." Apuleius describes it thus: "eius custos, prope dicam, par con- tuberlio, familiaris cuncta que ar- cenda sunt arcuit: quæ cavenda sunt præcavit; et præmonenda præ-

non tantum sciunt dæmonas, sed etiam quidquid C. XXVI.  
 miraculi ludunt, per dæmonas faciunt: illis adspic-  
 rantibus et infudentibus præstigias edunt, vel quæ  
 10 non sunt videri vel quæ sunt non videri. Eorum  
 magorum <sup>19</sup> et eloquio et negotio primus <sup>20</sup> Ostanes  
 et verum Deum merita majestate prosequitur et  
 angelos, id est, <sup>21</sup> ministros et nuntios Dei, sed veri,  
 ejusque venerationi novit adsistere, ut et nutu  
 ipso et vultu domini territi contremiscant. Idem

monuit." Comp. Maxim. Tyr. *Diss.*  
 xxvi and xxvii.

<sup>18</sup> *magi quoque.* Hanc opinio-  
 nem non Christiani tantum scrip-  
 tores, sed et Ethnici foverunt. Plato  
 in *Sympos.* [p. 202 E.]: διὸς τούτου  
 (δαιμόνων γένους) καὶ ή μαντικὴ  
 πάσσα χωρεῖ καὶ τῷ λεπέσων τέχνῃ,  
 τῶν τε περὶ τὰ θυσίας καὶ τὰς  
 ἐπιφθάσεις καὶ τὴν μαντείαν πᾶσαν  
 καὶ γοητείαν. Hinc Apuleius *de  
 Deo Socratis* [p. 133, c. vi.]: per  
 dæmonas, cuncta denunciata et  
 magorum varia miracula, omnes-  
 que præsagiorum species reguntur.  
 DAVIES. See Lactant. *I. c.* § 10:  
 "magorum quoque ars omnis ac  
 potentia horum adspirationibus  
 constat: a quibus invocati, visus  
 hominum præstigiis obsecrantibus  
 fallunt, ut non videant ea quæ sunt  
 et videre se putent illa quæ non  
 sunt: and comp. Tertull. *Apol.* c.  
 xxii, xxiii.

*Infudentibus:* sub. *se.* The sen-  
 tence beginning with *vel quæ non sunt*  
 is an *epexegesis* of *præstigias*  
*edunt:* Translate: "they exhibit  
 feats of jugglery, so as both to make  
 things to appear which do not ex-  
 ist, and things which do to disap-  
 pear." On *præstigiae* vide Index, s. v.

<sup>19</sup> *et eloquio et negotio,* "in the-

oretical and practical skill." Comp.  
 Luc. *Evang.* xxiv. v. 19: δύνατος  
 εὐ ἐργα καὶ λόγια.

<sup>20</sup> *Ostanes.* Ostanes or Hos-  
 tanes, quoted as the prince and  
 father of magicians by Apuleius *de  
 magia*, cap. xc, cf. cap. xxvii; by  
 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxx, c. 1: and  
 others, ap. Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* i. i.  
 14. § 1; also by Arnobius, i. 52;  
 Tatian. *Or. c. Gr.* § 17; Eusebius  
*Præp. Ev.* iv. p. 119:

Ἄβδεῖνος Ἀφροδίτην  
 ελήσσουσιν ἀφθέγκτοις, ἀσ εδρε μάγων δχ'  
 ἀριστος  
 τοῦ ἐπαφθέγγου βασιλεὺς, δν πάντες  
 ισσοι  
 καὶ σφόδρα καὶ καθ ἔκαστον δει θεὸν  
 ἐπακιφώνην.

The Christians have been accused  
 of forging treatises under this name  
 by Jablonski, *Panth. Egypt.*

*Merita majestate prosequitur:*  
 "gives him the honour due unto his  
 name."

<sup>21</sup> *ministros et nuntios Dei,* "agents  
 and messengers of God." Apule-  
 ius *de deo Socr.* c. vi speaks of them  
 as "divinæ medie potestates inter  
 sumnum æthera et infimas terras in  
 isto intersitæ ætheris spatio, per quas  
 et desideria nostra et merita ad deos  
 commeant inter homines cœlicolas-

C. XXVI. etiam dæmonas prodidit terrenos, vagos, <sup>23</sup>humanitatis inimicos. Quid Plato? qui invenire Deum <sup>23</sup>negotium credidit, nonne et angelos sine negotio <sup>11</sup>narrat et dæmonas? et <sup>24</sup>in Symposio etiam suo naturam dæmonum exprimere connitur? vult enim esse substantiam inter mortalem immortalemque, <sup>25</sup>id est, inter corpus et spiritum medium, terreni ponderis et cœlestis levitatis admixtione concretam, <sup>26</sup>ex qua movet etiam nos pro cupi-

que vectores hinc precum inde donorum, ceu quidam utriusque interpres et salutigeruli.

<sup>23</sup> *humanitas*, "mankind;" abstract for concrete, as above, ch. viii. § 2. So *mortalitas* is frequently used by Pliny the elder and Arnobius as equivalent to *mortales*. See Bünemann on *Lactant. Div. Inst.* p. 531.

<sup>24</sup> *negotium*, ἔργον, "a difficult task;" see ch. xix note 34.

*Angelos narrat.* Not that Plato actually employed the word *angels*, but he made frequent mention of good demons, whom the Christian writers aptly enough likened to angels in respect of their nature and offices. HAILES.

*Sine negotio*, "without difficulty."

<sup>24</sup> *in Symposio*. Plato *Sypos.* p. 202, ε: πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μέταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θυητοῦ· δρμηνεῦον καὶ διαπορθμεῦον θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν, τῶν μὲν τὰς δεῖσεις καὶ θυσίας, τῶν δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάξεις τε καὶ ἀμοιβὰς τῶν θυσιῶν ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ὅν ἀμφοτέρων συμπληροῦ, ὥστε τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ξυνδεδέσθαι. See Stallbaum's note, and comp. *Epim.* 984 ε: Theodoret. *Orat.* iv. p. 61. 52.

ed. Gaisford: θεοὺς δὲ καὶ δαιμόνιας (Πλάτων) κέκληκεν, οὓς ἡμεῖς ἀγγέλους προσαγορεύομεν· καὶ τούτους γε λειτουργοὺς ἔφησεν εἶναι τοῦ τῶν δλων Θεοῦ: Porphyrius περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων, lib. ii. p. 30, sqq.

<sup>25</sup> *id est inter corpus et spiritum.* Incommode mentem Platonis expavit Minucius. Ex hujusce philosophi sententia Dæmones inter deos hominesque collocantur. Nam quemadmodum homines sunt θυητοὶ καὶ ἀμπαθεῖς, ita dæmones sunt ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἀμπαθεῖς, quum ea deorum natura sit, ut ἀπόθεαι et ἀναναῖαι sortiantur. "Dæmones," ut verbis utar Apuleii *deo Socratis*, p. 334, "sunt inter nos et "Deos ut loco regionis, ita ingenio "mentis intersiti: habentes com- "munem cum superis immortalita- "tem, cum inferis passionem... Sunt "genere animalia, ingenio rationalia, "animo passiva, corpore aëria, tem- "pore aeterna. Ex his quinque quae "commemoravi tria a principio ea- "dem nobiscum, quartum proprium, "postremum commune cum diis "immortalibus habent." Rem in aperta luce posuit Maximus Tyrius *Dissert.* xxvii. Adi sis et Hieroclem

dine amoris : et dicit informari, et <sup>27</sup>labi pectoribus C. XXVI.  
 humanis, et sensum movere, et affectus fingere,  
 et ardorem cupiditatis infundere. Isti igitur im- C. XXVII.  
 puri spiritus, dæmones, ut ostensum Magis, <sup>1a</sup>  
 philosophis et a Platone, sub statuis et imaginibus  
<sup>2</sup>consecrati delitescunt et adflatu suo auctoritatem  
 quasi præsentis numinis consequuntur, dum <sup>3</sup>inspi-  
 rantur interim vatibus, dum fanis immorantur, dum  
 nonnumquam <sup>4</sup>extorum fibras animant, avium vola-

For which  
end they lurk  
within sta-  
tues, making  
men believe  
in the divinity  
of an idol :  
and by their  
manifold  
agency and  
chicanery  
seek to de-  
grade man  
kind to the  
level of their  
own fallen  
nature.

in *Aur. Carm. 11. DAVIES.*

<sup>26</sup> *ex qua movet etiam nos pro cu-*  
*pidine amoris.* I have preferred to  
 give this passage as it stands in the  
 MS. with the exception of *pro cupidini-*  
*nam*, and *monet*, rather than adopt any  
 of the many uncertain conjectures of  
 editors. A doubtful sense may be  
 elicited from it by making *ex qua*  
 refer to the *admixtio terreni ponderis*, and *moveat* to *substantia*:  
 "in consequence of which (their  
 earthy substance) they influence us  
 out of the fondness of their sym-  
 pathy for us." The word *procu-*  
*pido*, which editors bestow upon our  
 author, is an ἀναξ λεγόμενον. Lind-  
 ner reads; *ex qua* (sc. *admixtio*  
*terreni ponderis*) *manare in nos pro-*  
*cupidinem amoris*: i.e. derivari  
 eam *procupidinem amoris*,  
*qua in nos ferantur*. Oehler:  
*ex qua monet etiam nos percipi cu-*  
*pidinem amoris.*

<sup>27</sup> *labi*, for *illabi*.

Ch. XXVII. <sup>1a</sup> *a philosophis et*  
*a Platone*: "by philosophers and  
 especially Plato." On this use of *et*  
 see Hand, *Turrellin.* Vol. ii. p. 480.  
 11: and comp. above, ch. xxi. note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *consecrati*. Davies, after Ur-  
 sinus, prefers *consecratis*: comp.

Cyprian, *de Id. Van. ch. iv. § 3.*

<sup>3</sup> *inspirantur*. Some read *inspi-*  
*rant* against MS. authority. Comp.  
 the account of demon-agency given  
 by Apuleius, *de deo Socr.* c. vi: cu-  
 rant singula...vel somniis confor-  
 mandis vel extis fissiculandis vel  
 prespetibus gubernandis, vel oscini-  
 bus erudiendis vel vatibus inspi-  
 randis vel fulminibus jaculandis vel  
 nubibus coruscandis ceterisque adeo  
 per quæ futura dignoscimus.

*Interim*, "at times." See ch. xix.  
 note 23.

<sup>4</sup> *extorum fibras animant etc.*  
 Comp. Lactant. ii. 16. 1. There  
 were four great methods of divina-  
 tion. 1. By the flight of birds and  
 song of birds (*augurium*). 2. By  
 lots (*sortes*). 3. By the entrails of  
 victims (*haruspicina*). 4. By con-  
 sulting oracles. They are enum-  
 erated in the following lines of Ti-  
 bullus to Phœbus:

Tu procul eventura vides, tibi deditus au-  
 gur

Scit bene quid fati provida cantet a vis,  
 Tuque regis sortes; per te presentis  
 aruspex,

Lubrici signavit cum deus exta notis.  
 Te duce Romanos nunquam frustrata Si-  
 bylla,

Abdita que senis fata canit pedibus.

C. XXVII. *tus gubernant, sortes regunt, oracula efficiunt falsis pluribus involuta.* Nam et falluntur et fallunt, ut 2 et nescientes sinceram veritatem et quam sciunt, 7 in perditionem sui non confitentes. Sic 8 a celo 3 deorsum gravant et a Deo vero 9 ad materias avocant, 10 vitam turbant, 11 somnos inquietant, irrepentes

<sup>5</sup> *sortes regunt*, “manage the lots at their pleasure.” The *sortes* were slips of parchment or pieces of wood upon which certain words or sentences were inscribed. They were mixed together in a box or urn, one was drawn or shaken out at random, and a conclusion formed from the expressions which it contained, as applied to the particular circumstances of the person who made the experiment. The *sortes* of the temple of Fortune at Praeneste were among the most celebrated in Italy. Ramsay on *Tibullus*, p. 148. Comp. Cicero *de Divin.* ii. 41.

<sup>6</sup> *oracula efficiunt falsis pluribus involuta*, “devise oracles, mostly a long tissue of falsehoods.” Comp. Lactant. ii. 16, § 13: *in oraculis autem vel maxime fallunt quorum præstigias profani averitate intelligere non possunt*: *ib.* 14 § 6: *solent responsa in ambiguos exitus temperare*: Tertullian. *Apol.* c. xxii: *in oraculis quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, scient Crossi.*

<sup>7</sup> *in perditionem sui*, “to the utter ruin of themselves.”

<sup>8</sup> *a celo deorsum gravant*: “weigh down the mind away from heaven,” i.e. so that it cannot mount heavenwards. Comp. Athenag. quoted in note 13 to ch. xxvi: Tatian *Or. c. Gr.* c. 16. p. 72 B: *δαίμονες τῇ σφῶν κακοηθεῖᾳ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*

ἐκβακχεύοντες, ποικίλαις καὶ ἁψευσμέναις δραματουργίαις τὰς γυάμας αὐτῶν παρατρέποντες κάτω νενεκυίας, ὅπως μεταρριθμόθεις πρὸς τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς πορείαν ἔξαντατῶσιν.

<sup>9</sup> *ad materias avocant*: “draw aside to the worship of material substances.”

<sup>10</sup> *vitam turbant*, φοβητρὰ δυθράπτοις ἔδειξαν, Justin, *Apol.* I. § 5; II. § 6. LINDNER.

<sup>11</sup> *somnos*. The MS. has *omnes*. Comp. Cyprian, *de Id. Van.* iv. 4: Lactant. *D. I.* ii. xiv. 14; Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxiii. Lactantius’ account of daemon-agency is borrowed from this, *Div. Inst.* II. xv. § 14: “*hi quoniam sunt spiritus tenues et incomprehensibles, insinuant se corporibus hominum, et occulte in visceribus operati, valetudinem viiant, morbos citant; somniis animos terrent; mentes furoribus quaunt, ut homines his malis cogant ad eorum auxilia decurrere.*” Compare Tatian, *Or. c. Gr.* c. 18: *τοῦτο τινῶν ἐπιφοτῶντες μέλεσιν, ἐπειτα δι' ὄντερων τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν πραγματεύμενο δόξαν, δημοσίᾳ τε τοῦτο τοιούτον προϊόντας κελεύσαντες, πάντων δρώντων, ἐπειδὰν τῶν ἐγκοσμίων ἀπολαύσωσιν, ἀποτάμενοι τῶν καμνόντων, ἢν ἐπραγματεύσαντο ούσον περιγράφοντες τοὺς ἀρχαῖος εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκαθιστᾶσιν*: Justin M. *Apol.* I.

etiam corporibus occulte, ut spiritus tenues, <sup>12</sup> morbos fingunt, terrent mentes, membra distorquent, ut ad cultum sui cogant: ut <sup>13</sup> nidore altarium vel hostiis pecudum saginati, <sup>14</sup> remissis quæ constrinxerant, curasse videantur. <sup>15</sup> Hi sunt et furentes quos in publicum videtis excurrere; vates et ipsi absque

It is these  
demons who  
inspire the  
fanatics that

c. xiv.: ποτὲ μὲν δ' ὄνειρον ἀποφανεῖας ποτὲ δὲ αὖ διὰ μαγικῶν στροφῶν χειροῦνται πάντας. See Thilo cod. *Apocryph. N. T.* l. 525.

<sup>12</sup> *morbos fingunt*, "counterfeit diseases:" Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxii: corporibus valetudines infligunt.

<sup>13</sup> *nidore altarium vel hostiis pecudum saginati*: "after they have glutted themselves with the savoury steam from altars, and the sacrifices of beasts." Their sensual delight in sacrifices is mentioned by Athenagoras, *leg. pro Christ.* c. xxiii. p. 30: λίχνων περὶ τὰς κυρίσσας καὶ τὸ τῶν λεπετῶν αἷμα δύτες; c. xxii. p. 29, προστετηκότες τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν λεπετῶν αἷματι καὶ ταῦτα περιλιχμέμενοι: Justin M. *Apol.* ii. § 5; Tatian, *Or. c. Gr. cap. xii.* οἱ δύσωποι καὶ λίχνοι: Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xiii; ut sibi pubula propria nidoris et sanguinis procuret simulacra imaginibus oblata: *de Idol.* c. vii: *ad Scap.* c. ii: Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* § 50, p. 49: αὐτοὶ που δέξομολογοῦνται οἱ δαιμονες τὴν γαστριμαργίαν τὴν αὐτῶν,

δοιθῆς τε κνίσσης τε, τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας φύεται,

λέγοντες. Origen c. *Cels.* Lib. iii. p. 128, τῇ λιχνείᾳ τῶν δαιμόνων: *ibid.* ἔνερων τὰς λοιβάς καὶ τὰς κνίσσας, ἐφ' αἷς λίχνως φύοντο, καθαιρουμένως ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν τῷ Ἰησοῦ μαθήματα: *ib.* Lib. vii. p. 335; *ib.* Lib. viii. p. 418: αἷματι καὶ κνίσσῃ

προσηλωμένων: Augustin C. D. iii. 20: Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* iv. 10, p. 148 c; Cyprian, *de I. V.* c. 4.

<sup>14</sup> *remissis quæ constrinxerant, curasse videantur*, "that they may be thought to have effected a cure, when they have merely given a release from the bonds of their own making." Comp. Justin M. *Apol.* ii. 5; Tatian, *ubi supra*, note 10; Ireneus *adv. Hæres.* ii. 32; Origen, c. *Cels.* vii. p. 335; Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxi.: benefici plane et circa curas valetudinum. Lædunt enim primo, dehinc remedia præcipiunt ad miraculum nova sive contraria, post quæ desinunt lædere, ut curasse videantur; Cyprian, *l. c.*; Lactantius, *D. I.* ii. 14. 13: depulsores malorum, quæ ipsi faciunt et irrogant: Arnobius *adv. nat.* i. 48.

<sup>15</sup> *hi sunt et furentes etc.* (sc. demones). Fortasse legendum, *Hinc sunt et furentes*: quos postea vates abesse templo vocat noster, quod ut vates in templis, sic hi in vicis et plateis insaniebant et rotabantur. Vide Clementis *Recogn.* Lib. v. cap. 13: ac *Homil.* ix. cap. 7; Origenem, *contra Celsum*, Lib. vii. p. 333, seqq. et Prudentium, *Perist.* x. 1063. DAVIES. See also Lactantius, *D. I.* iv. 17. 12, and for a further account of the notions which the Christians had of demonology and of their origin, Semisch's *Justin M.* Vol. ii. p. 279, seq. *Transl.*

C. XXVII. templo: sic insaniunt, sic bacchantur, <sup>16</sup>sic rotantur: <sup>17</sup>par et in illis instigatio dæmonis sed argumentum dispar furoris. De ipsis etiam illa quæ <sup>5</sup>  
 run about in  
the streets  
with frantic  
and irrational  
gestures, like  
those of the  
temple-  
priests and  
diviners: it is  
they who pro-  
duces appari-  
tions and  
other illu-  
sions.  
 All this is  
attested by  
their own  
confession,  
when they are  
put to shame  
and exorcised

<sup>18</sup>paullo ante tibi dicta sunt, ut Jupiter ludos repeteret ex somnio, ut cum equis Castores vide- rentur, ut cingulum matronæ navicula sequeretur.

Hæc omnia sciunt pleraque pars vestrum ipsos <sup>6</sup>  
 dæmonas de semetipsis confiteri, quoties a nobis et  
<sup>19</sup>tormentis verborum et orationis incendiis de cor-  
 poribus exiguntur. Ipse Saturnus et Serapis et <sup>7</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *sic rotantur*. This word, like the two preceding, was commonly applied to those who were under the temporary influence of some agency which was considered as imparting a spirit of prophecy. Comp. Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* i. 19: quoniam compcri nonnullos, qui se plurimum sapere suis persuasionibus credunt, insaniare, bacchari, et velut quidquam ex promptum oraculo dicere; with Virgil's description of the Sibyl prophesying, *Aen.* vi. v. 77, sqq. See also Lucan, *Phars.* v. 166; Apuleius, *Miles.* § 8; Statius, *Silv.* iii;

Vates sanctorum incipit, tacendum est:  
 En! ut colla rotat, novisque late  
 Bacchatur spatiis, viamque replet.

<sup>17</sup> *par et in illis instigatio dæmonis etc.* "there is the same impulse of the dæmon in their case (as in that of the seers), though the purpose for which the madness is excited is different."

<sup>18</sup> *paulo ante*, ch. vii. §§ 3, 4.

*De ipsis etiam*, "is from (i. e. the work of) these identical spirits."

<sup>19</sup> *tormentis verborum et orationis incendiis*, "are expelled by the tortures of our words and the fire of our prayer." Compare the challenge

of Tertullian, *Apol.* 28: edatur hic aliqui sub tribunalibus vestris, quem dæmone agi constet. Jussus a qualibet Christiano loqui tam se dæmonem confitebitur de vero quam alibi dominum de falso: *ibid.* Christum timentes in Deo et Deum in Christo subjiciunt servis Dei et Christi. Ita de contactu deque afflato nostro, contemplatione et representatione ignis illius correpti etiam de corporibus nostro imperio excedunt inviti et dolentes et vobis præsentibus erubescentes. Credite illis, dum verum de se ipsis loquuntur, qui mentientibus creditis. Nemo ad suum dedecus mentitur, quin potius ad honorem: *de Anima*, c. 57. Comp. also Cyprian, who has expanded the description, given by Minucius, in the *de Id. Van.* c. iv; *ad Demetrianum*, § 8: quando a nobis adjurantur, et torquentur spiritualibus flagris et verborum tormentis, de obsessis corporibus ejiciuntur. Lactantius, *de Orig. Error.* 15, § 3: justos, id est, cultores Dei metuntur: cuius nomine adjurati de corporibus excedunt: quorum verbis, tamquam flagris, verberati non modo dæ-

by us, in the presence of their worshippers.

Jupiter et quidquid dæmonum colitis victi dolore c. XXVII,  
quod sunt, eloquuntur: <sup>20</sup>nec utique in turpitudinem sui, nonnullis præsertim vestrum adsistentibus,  
8 mentiuntur. Ipsi testibus esse eos dæmonas de  
se verum confidentibus credite: adjurati enim per  
Deum verum et solum, inviti, miseri <sup>21</sup>corporibus  
inhorrescunt: et vel exsiliunt statim vel evanes-  
cunt gradatim, prout fides patientis adjuvat, aut  
9 <sup>22</sup>gratia curantis adspirat. Sic Christianos <sup>23</sup>de prox-  
imo fugitant, quos longe in cœtibus per vos laces-

monas esse se confidentur: sed etiam nomina sua edunt illa, que in templo adorantur, quod plerumque coram cultoribus suis faciunt, non utique in opprobrium religionis sed honoris sui: quia nec Deo, per quem adjurantur: nec justis, quorum voce torquentur, mentiri possunt. Itaque maximis saepe ululatibus editis verberari se et ardere et jam jamque ardore proclamant: Id. de justitia c. xxi. Similar statements are confidently made by other fathers of the Church: e. g. Justin M. *Apol.* ii. 6; *Dialog.* c. 30; Theophil. *ad Autolyc.* ii. 8; Tatian, *or. ad Gr.* c. xvi; Origen, *c. Cels.* i. 25, 46; iii. 24; vii. 4; viii. 58; Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* iii. 6; Julius Firmicus, *de Err. Prof. Rel.* pp. 29, 30; Athanasius, *de Incarnat. Verbi*, pp. 73, 88: Ἦκέτω δὲ διεῖραν τῶν προλεχθέντων βουλόμενος λαβεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φαντασίας τῶν δαιμόνων ... χρησάσθω τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ γελωμένου παρ' αὐτοῖς σταυροῦ, τὸν Χριστὸν δυομάστα μόνον καὶ δύνεται πῶς δι' αὐτοῦ δαιμones μὲν φεύγουσι; Augustin, *de C. D.* xxii. 8, § 7, 8: S. Hilary, *in Constant.* 8. See more on

this subject in a note of the Oxford Translation of Tertullian, Vol. i. pp. 57, 58; and on the office of the Exorcist, Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. i. p. 280. See also Semisch on *Justin M.* Vol. ii. p. 286 *Tr.*

<sup>20</sup>nec utique in turpitudinem sui: "and it is not to be supposed that they utter lies to their own shame, especially in the presence of some of you," sc. their worshippers. Comp. Lactantius, *wi supra*, note 18.

<sup>21</sup>corporibus inhorrescunt: Comp. S. James ii. 19. δαιμόνια φρίσσονται: S. Luke ix. 39: καὶ ἤγανθη κράζει καὶ σπαράσσει αὐτὸν μετὰ δέρματος καὶ μόγις διοχωρεῖ. Miser may be translated by our word "poor," as used in contempt or pity: so ch. xii. 3, *invitus, miser, infirmitatis argueris*.

<sup>22</sup>gratia curantis, sc. DEI.

<sup>23</sup>de proximo fugiant, "run away fast from their neighbourhood." Compare Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 27: "quos de longinquò oppugnant, de proximo obsecrant;" and "lædere gestiunt quos alias verentur." On *de proximo*, see Hand *Turcellin.* Vol. ii. p. 223: and on *fugiant*, Blumenmann ad Lactant. *Div. Inst.* p. 686.

C. XXIX. sebant. Ideo inserti mentibus imperitorum odium  
 Their fear in-  
 spires them  
 with hatred  
 of us; and  
 they wreak  
 their spite by  
 secretly dis-  
 seminating  
 false reports,  
 and so fan-  
 ning the  
 antipathies  
 of their blind  
 agents against  
 us, and pre-  
 venting ex-  
 amination of  
 our religion,  
 lest it should  
 prove true.  
 The unfair-  
 ness of at-  
 taching ready  
 credence to  
 these malici-  
 ous calum-  
 nies may be  
 signally ex-  
 emplified in  
 my own case,  
 for I was my  
 self once  
 seduced into  
 believing such  
 groundless  
 stories

nostri serunt occulte per timorem: naturale est enim et odisse quem timeas; et <sup>24</sup>quem metueris infestare si possis. Sic occupant animos et obstruunt <sup>10</sup>, pectora, ut ante nos incipient homines odisse, <sup>25</sup>quam nosse: ne cognitos aut imitari possint aut damnare non possint.

Quam autem iniquum sit <sup>1</sup>incognitis et inexploratis judicare, quod facitis, nobis ipsis poenitibus credite; et nos enim <sup>2</sup>idem fuimus et eadem vobiscum quandam adhuc cæci et hebetes sentiebamus, quasi Christiani monstra colerent, infantes vorarent, convivia incesta miscerent, nec intelligebamus <sup>3</sup>ab his fabulas istas semper ventilari et numquam vel investigari vel probari, nec tanto tempore aliquem existere qui proderet, non tan-

<sup>24</sup> quem metueris. Sic MS. Freinshem. ad Curt. x. 8, 1, oderis, ut apud Ciceron. Offic. ii. 7: quem metaunt, oderunt; quem quisque odit perisse expedit. Conf. Tacit. Agric. c. 42. Recte si quid video. LINDNER.

<sup>25</sup> quam nosse. "Hoc argumentum tractat Tertullianus *Apologet.* cap. i: quid iniquius, quam ut oderint homines quod ignorant, etiam res mereatur odium? Tunc enim meretur, quem cognoscitur an mereatur." Sed et Lactantius, *D. I.* Lib. v. 1. 4. HERALDUS.

Ch. XXIX. <sup>1</sup> incognitis sc. rebus. Meursius in *incognitis*.

<sup>2</sup> idem fuimus, for <sup>3</sup>idem. I should prefer to read *idem fecimus*, because of the preceding *quod facitis*, and *sensisse, egisse* in § 6. Cf. Tertull. *Apol.* c. 18: haec et nos

risimus aliquando; de vestris fui-  
mus.

<sup>3</sup> ab his, sc. rumigerulis. Ven-  
tilari, "were fanned," "kept a-  
live."

<sup>4</sup> gratiam indicii consecuturum,  
"although, in so doing, he would obtain a reward for making the disclosure."

<sup>5</sup> malum autem adeo non esse etc.  
"that so far from there being any  
"thing criminal in them, on the  
"contrary an accused Christian  
"never shewed marks of shame  
"or dismay." Comp. Tertullian,  
*Apol.* c. 1: omne malum aut timore  
aut pudore natura perfudit—Chris-  
tianus vero nihil simile? neminem  
pudet, neminem poenitet, nisi plane  
retro non fuisse.

*Unum paniteret.* This is a clas-  
sical construction, though not one

tum facti veniam, verum etiam <sup>4</sup> indicii gratiam C. XXIX.  
 3 consequeturum; <sup>5</sup> malum autem adeo non esse, ut  
 Christianus reus nec erubesceret nec timeret, et  
 unum solummodo quod non ante fuerit pœniteret.  
 4 Nos tamen quum sacrilegos aliquos et incestos,  
 parricidas etiam, defendendos et <sup>6</sup> tuendos suscipie-  
 bamus, hos nec audiendos in totum putabamus;  
<sup>7</sup> nonnumquam etiam miserantes eorum crudelius  
 sæviebamus, ut torqueremus confitentes ad negan-  
 dum, videlicet ne perirent; exercentes in his per-  
 versam quæstionem, non quæ verum erueret sed  
 5 quæ mendacium cogeret. Et <sup>8</sup> si qui infirmior,  
 malo pressus et victus Christianum se negasset,  
 favebamus ei, quasi ejerato nomine jam omnia  
 6 facta sua illa negatione purgaret. Agnoscitisne  
 eadem nos sensisse et egisse quæ sentitis et geri,

of frequent occurrence: comp. Cic.  
*Tusc.* v. 28, § 81: A. Gellius, *N. A.*  
 xiii. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *tuendos suscipiebamus*, "under-  
 took the defence of." *Suscipere*  
*clientes* was a technical forensic  
 term.

*In totum*, i. q. *omnino*, "at  
 all." Comp. above ch. xxiv. § 5.

<sup>7</sup> *nonnumquam etiam etc.*, "and  
 sometimes we were more cruel in  
 our pity than our rage: by tortur-  
 ing confessors into saving them-  
 selves by a disavowal of their reli-  
 gion: thus employing in their case  
 a strange abuse of tortures, viz. not  
 to draw out the truth, but to com-  
 pel a breach of it." Compare Ter-  
 tullian, *Apol.* c. 2: itaque nec in  
 illo ex forma malorum judicandorum  
 agitis erga nos, quod ceteris negan-  
 tibus tormenta adhibetis ad confi-

tendum, solis Christianis ad negan-  
 dum... Quum presumatis de sceleri-  
 bus nostris ex nominis confessione,  
 cogitis tormentis de confessione de-  
 cedera. Vociferatur homo: *Chris-  
 tianus sum*. Quod est, dicit; tu vis  
 audire quod non est. Veritatis ex-  
 torquenda pressides de nobis solis  
 mendacium elaboratis audire. Hoc  
 sum, inquit quod queris an sim.  
 Quid me torques in perversum?  
 ib. cap. vii: *ad Scap.* c. iv: Justin  
 M. *Apol.* i. 4; Cyprian, *ad Demet-  
 rian.* c. vii; Eusebius *H. E.* v. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *si qui* for *si quis*. Comp. Lac-  
 tantius, *D. I.* v. 9. 11: si qui autem  
 doloris vel mortis metu cœlesti sa-  
 cramentum deseruerint, eos hono-  
 ribus mactant, ut eorum exemplo  
 ceteros illiciant. *Ejerato nomine*,  
 "by abjuring the name" of Chris-  
 tian.

before I knew  
 the source,  
 whence they  
 were derived,  
 and so formed  
 a totally  
 wrong esti-  
 mate of the  
 character of  
 the Chris-  
 tians; may  
 even reversed  
 all the ordi-  
 nary rules of  
 evidence in  
 their case.

C. XXIX. tis? quum <sup>9</sup>si ratio, non instigatio dæmonis judicaret, urgendi magis, non ut diffiterentur se Christianos, sed ut de incestis, stupris, de impiatis sacris, de infantibus immolatis faterentur. His enim 7 et hujusmodi fabulis iidem dæmones <sup>10</sup>ad exsecrationis horrorem imperitorum aures adversus nos refererentur. <sup>11</sup>Nec tamen mirum, quum hominum fama, quæ semper insparsis mendaciis alitur, ostensa veritate consumitur: <sup>12</sup>sic est negotium dæmonum: ab ipsis enim rumor falsus et seritur et fovetur.

<sup>9</sup> si ratio etc., "had our judgment been influenced by reason, and not by the promptings of an evil spirit." Urgendi sc. essent, "they (the Christians) ought to have been pressed."

<sup>10</sup> ad exsecrationis horrorem, i.e. "ut nos horreant et exscrentur." LINDNER.

<sup>11</sup> néc tamen mirum, si scil. imperitorum aures adversus nos refererentur, nolunt enim famam, ostensa veritate, consumi. Tertullianus, *Apol.* cap. vii: "Quid? quod ea fama conditio est, ut non nisi cum mentitur perseveret; et tamdiu vivit quamdiu non probat. Siquidem ubi probavit cessat esse, et quasi officio nuntiandi functa rem tradit." LINDNER.

*Hominum fama*, i. e. fama hominum oribus jactata. The MS. reading is *omnium*.

<sup>12</sup> sic est negotium dæmonum: adeoque est hæc fama ipsorum dæmonum negotium et opus; Cicero, *Tusc.* 4, c. 6: Sic (stichergestalt) quantu[m] perturbationes sunt. LINDNER.

<sup>13</sup> caput asini rem nobis esse divinam; in allusion to the reproach of Cæcius, ch. ix. § 4.

<sup>14</sup> cum vestra vel Epona, i. e. "even together with your goddess Epona." A similar transposition of *vel* occurs in ch. xi. § 8, *vel ut exemplo crederis*. Epona was the goddess of grooms: Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xvi: vos non negabitis et jumenta omnia et totos canthericos cum sua Eponacoli a vobis: *ad Nat.* i. c. 11; Juvenal, *Sat.* viii. v. 157:

....jurat  
Solan Eponam, et facies oilda ad præse-  
pia pictas.

Apuleius, *Metam.* III. p. 313, quoted by Cellarius: Respicio pilæ mediae, que stabuli trabes sustinebat in ipso fere meditullio Eponæ deæ simulacrum, quod accurate corollis roscis, equidem recentibus, fuerat ornatum.

*Totus asinos*, i. q. universos; so above, ch. xxiii: *totis hominibus*.

<sup>15</sup> asinos cum Iride religiose de-  
voratis. "We are told by Plutarch, "*de Iside* ii. 362, ed. Xylander. that "the Egyptians were wont, at cer-  
tain festivals, to eat cakes having "the figure of an ass, the symbol of "Typhon, imprinted on them. This "may account for the first part of "the expression here used: but it is

8 Inde est, quod audire te dicis <sup>13</sup> caput asini rem c. XXXIX.  
 nobis esse divinam. Quis tam stultus ut hoc colat? quis stultior ut hoc coli credat? nisi quod vos et totos asinos in stabulis <sup>14</sup> cum vestra vel Epona consecratis et eosdem <sup>15</sup> asinos cum Iside religiose devoratis; item <sup>16</sup> boum capita et capita vervecum et immolatis et colitis; <sup>17</sup> de capro etiam et homine mixtos et <sup>18</sup> leonum et canum vultus deos dedicatis.

9 Nonne et <sup>19</sup> Apim bovem cum Aegyptiis adoratis et pascitis? nec eorum sacra damnatis instituta ser-

One of the  
reports they  
propagate is  
"that we pay  
homage to an  
ass's head."

"difficult to understand what is meant by eating the representation of Isis." This has led the critics to propose various emendations of the word *devoratis*: as *denotatis*, "you point them out in the processions made by the priests of Isis," (*Heraldus*); *decoratis*, "you bedeck them," (*Rigaltius*): (Comp. Apuleius, *Metam.* xi. p. 765 with Hildebrand's note, and p. 770; also Ovid, *Fast.* vi. v. 811, 817); *devotatis*, "you consecrate them," (*Meursius*). HAILES. [In agris ostensum contra incommoda asini caput. Thesaur. vi. col. 176 et 223. J. GR.]

<sup>16</sup> *boum capita*, i. q. boves, according to Bochart *Hierozoic*. p. i. Lib. ii. c. 34, f. m. 346, quoted by Buenemann, Lactant. *Div. Inst.* iv. 10, 12; Herodotus, *Euterp.* ii. c. 41, says that the Egyptians sacrificed the male, but not the female, because dedicated to Isis.

*Vervecum capita*, "wethers."

<sup>17</sup> *de capro et homine mixtos*, in allusion of course to their god Pan, who, according to Herodotus was represented as *αἰγοπρόσωπος* and *τραγοσκελής*: *Euterp.* ii. 46: *Sil. Italic.* xiii. 327, sqq.; and the *Sa-*

*tyrs*, described as *capripedes*, *κεράσται, ολα τοις δρυτὶ γεννηθεῖσιν ἔριφοις τὰ κέρατα ὑποφέσται*, Lucian. *Bacchus*, Tom. III. p. 75, 15.

<sup>18</sup> *leonum et canum vultus*. Unde *Cynocephali*, *Aegyptiorum* monstra. De Leonum figura Arnobius, Lib. vi. cap. 10: inter deos videmus vestros leonis torvissimam faciem mero oblitam minio et nomine Frugiferio nuncupari, (i. e. Mithra; vide Hildebrand, *ad l.*); Adde Tertullian. *Apolog.* cap. xxl. *CELLARIUS*. Comp. Macrobius, *Saturn.* Lib. i. c. 20; Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 39; Porphyr. *de Abst.* Lib. iv. p. 399; Juvenal, *Sat.* xv. 8:

illuc, (*in Aegypto*)

Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Diana.

<sup>19</sup> *Apim bovem*. The sacred, oracular bull, which was kept at Memphis in a magnificent temple, surrounded with pleasure-grounds for his exercise. *Aelian*, *de Anim.* ii. 10. This animal was supposed to be an incarnation of Osiris: said to live for twenty-five years, at the end of which period he was supposed to drown himself by leaping into the Nile:

c. xxix. pentibus, crocodilis, belluis ceteris et <sup>20</sup>avibus et <sup>21</sup>piscibus, quorum aliquem deum <sup>22</sup>si quis occiderit, etiam capite punitur. Idem *Egyptii* cum pleris- 10 que vobiscum non magis Isidem quam <sup>23</sup>ceparum acrimonias metuunt: nec Serapidem magis quam strepitus per pudenda corporis expressos contremiscunt.

Another:  
"That we  
worship the  
*pudenda* of  
our priests."  
a charge  
which, like  
the former,  
may be re-  
ported upon  
the heathen

Etiam ille, qui de adoratis sacerdotis virilibus 11 adversum nos fabulatur, tentat in nos conferre quæ sua sunt. Ista enim impudicitiæ eorum for- 12 sitan sacra sint, apud quos <sup>24</sup>sexus omnis membris omnibus prostat, apud quos tota impudicitia voca-

Quos dignetur agros aut quo se gurgite  
    Nili  
Mergat odoratus trepidis pastoribus Apis.

STAT. *Silv.* III. ii. 115.

He was then interred with great pomp, and lamented by the priests until a new Apis was found: Plin. *N. H.* viii. 46; Prichard's *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 305; Jablonski, *Panth. Egypt.* iv. 2. § 17. There were other sacred bulls besides Apis, as Mnevio, worshipped at Heliopolis (Strabo, *Geograph.* xvii. p. 703); Pacis, at Hermonthis; and Onuphis. Ramsay's *Tibullus*, p. 168.

*belluis ceteris.* Which they worshipped as symbolical of their different gods. Lucian, *Imag.* § 11, quoted by Lindner: αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ νεώς (apud *Egyptios*) κάλλιστός τε καὶ μέγιστος, λίθοις τοῖς πολυτελέσιν ἡσκημένος καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ γραφαῖς διηρθισμένος ἔνδον δὲ ἦν ζητήσις τὸν θεὸν ἢ πιθηκός ἐστιν ἢ θεῖς ἢ τράγος ἢ αἴλουρος.

<sup>20</sup> *avibus.* Cic. *N. D.* i. 36; Juven. *I. c.* v. 9:

...crocodilon adorat  
Pars haec, illa pavet saturam serpentibus  
Ibin.

Comp. Addison, *Dial. on Medals*, Vol. I. p. 510, ed. Tonson.

<sup>21</sup> *piscibus.* Juvenal, *I. c.* v. 7; Herod. ii. 72; νομίζουσι πάντων ἰχθύων τὸν καλέμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἱρὸν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἕγχελυν. Cic. *de N. D.* iii. 15.

<sup>22</sup> si quis occiderit. Herod. ii. 65, τὸ δὲ ἀν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἥν μὲν ἐκών, θάνατος ή ζημία: cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxiv; Cic. *N. D.* i. 29.

<sup>23</sup> *ceparum acrimonias*: Comp. Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osir.* p. 253; A. Gell. *N. A.* xx. 8; Lucian, *dial. Jup. Trag.* p. 699, sqq.; Juvenal, *Sat.* xv. v. 9:

Porrum et cepo nefas violare et frangere morzu.

O sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascentur in hortis Numina.

Prudentius in *Roman. Martyre*, v. 259, quoted by Elmenhorst,

Adpone porris religiosas arulas,  
Venerare acerbum cepe, mordax allium.

tur urbanitas, qui scortorum licentiae invident, qui c. xxix.  
 medios viros lambunt, libidinoso ore inguinibus  
 inhærescunt, homines malæ linguae etiam si tace-  
 rent, quos prius tædescit impudicitiae suæ, quam  
 pudescit. Proh nefas! id in se mali facinoris  
 admittunt, quod nec ætas potest pati mollior nec  
 cogi servitus durior. Hæc et hujusmodi propudia  
 nobis non licet nec audire; <sup>1</sup> etiam pluribus turpe  
 defendere est. Ea enim de castis fingitis et pudi-  
 cis, quæ fieri non crederemus, nisi <sup>2</sup> de vobis pro-  
 baretis. <sup>2</sup>Nam quod religioni nostræ hominem  
 noxiū et crucem ejus adscribitis, longe de vi-

without in-  
justice: for  
the abomina-  
ble impurities  
which they  
impute to us  
are practised  
nowhere but  
amongst  
themselves.

You tax us  
with ascribing  
divinity to

The words *cum plerisque*, Lindner  
 considers to be a gloss.

<sup>24</sup> *sexus omnis*, i.e. uterque, as  
 in ch. ix, § 8. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*  
 i. 20, 25: nulla pudicitia, libidinibus  
 effrenatis omnem sexum et omnes  
 corporis partes contaminantibus: *ib.*  
 vi. 28. 10. Comp. *Romans* i. v. 26  
 foll.; *Martial passim*; *Seneca, de  
 benef.* iii. 20; *Quæst. nat.* i. 16.

Pati, proprium verbum. Cf.  
*Cicero, pro Mil.* c. 4.

Cogi servitus, sc. ad patientium.  
 Elmenhorst quotes in illustration  
*Ulpian, leg. ii. digest.* from a Re-  
 script of Antoninus Pius, *de his qui  
 sui vel alieni juris sunt.*

Ch. XXIX. <sup>1</sup> *Nobis non licet  
 nec audire.* More Græcorum par-  
 ticulas negantes geminat noster,  
 contra quam vulgo fit apud Latinos:  
 interdum tamen aliter se res habet.  
 Terentius, *Andr.* Act. ii. Sc. ii. vs.  
 ult.: neque tu hand dices tibi non  
 prædictum: Caesar, *B. G.* vii. c. 77:  
 nolite hos vestro auxilio spoliare  
 nec stultitia ac temeritate vestra  
 omnem Galliam prostertere: Cicero,

*pro Quint. cap. 14:* non opinor id  
 quidem neque jus esse neque cui-  
 quam expedire. V. N. Heinsius ad  
*Petron. Satir. cap. 42.* DAVIES.

<sup>2</sup> *etiam pluribus defendere*, sc.  
 verbis, "so much as to speak of them  
 any longer though in our own jus-  
 tification."

<sup>3</sup> *de vobis*, i. q. ex vobis, "from  
 your own practices." Comp. ch.  
 vii. 2: Bünemann ad *Lactant.* p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> *nam quod etc.* "For as to the  
 worship of a malefactor and his  
 cross, which you impute to us," etc.  
 On the use of *nam*, compare above  
 ch. xix. § 15. Gronovius, in his  
 MS. notes, remarks on the answer to  
 this charge: "Admiranda abstin-  
 "tia ulterius progrediendi in can-  
 "sam, ubi poterat cœlum adscendere,  
 "inferos debellare omniaque Dei  
 "placita et areana proferre ad de-  
 "scribendum istum hominem. Sed  
 "exemplo suo confirmat taciturni-  
 "tatem Christianorum antea cele-  
 "bratam et ineptiam illorum modo  
 "perstringere satis habuit." See  
 Wilson's *Illustr. of N. T.* p. 288.

C. XXIX. cīnia veritatis erratis, qui putatis Deum credi aut  
 meruisse noxiū, aut potuisse terrenū. Nā ille 3  
 miserabilis, cuius in homine mortali spes omnis  
 innititur: totum enim ejus auxilium cum extincto  
 homine finitur. <sup>5</sup> Ἀgyptii sane hominem sibi quem 4  
 colant eligunt; illum unum propitiant, illum de  
 omnibus consulunt, illi victimas cædunt: et ille,  
 qui ceteris deus sibi certe homo est, velit nolit:  
<sup>6</sup> nec enim conscientiam suam decipit, si fallit alien-  
 nam. Etiam principibus et regibus, non ut magnis 5  
 et <sup>7</sup> electis viris, sicut fas est, sed, ut deis, turpiter  
 adulatio falsa blanditur; quum et præclaro viro  
 honor verius, et optimo amor dulcissimus præbeatur.  
 Sic eorum <sup>8</sup> numen vocant, ad imagines suppli- 6  
 cant, genium, id est dæmonem ejus, implorant:

<sup>5</sup> Ἀgyptii sane. Porphyrius de Ἀgyptiis, περὶ ἀποχῆς, Lib. iv. § 9, ἀνθρωπὸν σέβοντι κατὰ Ἀνουβίν καμῆν ἐν ὅ καλ τούτῳ θύεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τὰ λεπεῖα κατετα. Hujusce loci testimonio utuntur Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* Lib. III. c. 4, 12, ac Theodoretus, *Therap.* III., ut monuit J. B. Cotelerius ad Clementis *Homil.* vi. 23, ubi sic Episcopos iste personatur: ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Ἀλγυπτίοις ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀνθρωπὸς ἡς δεῖται πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου προσκυνεῖται. Vide et *Homil.* xi. 6. DAVIES.

<sup>6</sup> nec enim conscientiam suam decipit, "for he cannot mock or be-  
 guile his own sentiments, if he does  
 mislead those of others."

<sup>7</sup> electis, sc. a Deo.

<sup>8</sup> numen vocant, i. q. invocant.  
 Ad imagines supplicant. Plin. Lib. x. *Epist.* 97 ad Trajanum: "quam

præeunte me deos appellarent, et  
 imagini tue, quam propter hoc jus-  
 seram cum simulacris numinum ad-  
 ferri, thure ac vino supplicarent."  
 CELLARIUS.

<sup>9</sup> per Jovis genium pejerare. By  
 the civil law pejeratio per ge-  
 nium Cæsaris was punishable,  
 while pejeratio per deos was  
 left to be punished by the gods.  
 'Jusjurandi contempta religio satis  
 Deum ultorem habet,' says the Em-  
 peror Alexander; *i. 2. Cod. d. reb.*  
*cred. Comp. Tertullian Apol. c.*  
*xxix: citius apud vos per omnes*  
*deos quam per unum genium Cesa-*  
*rii pejeratur.*

<sup>10</sup> nec optamus: "nor do we  
 court them;" which the heathen  
 were led to suppose was the case,  
 from seeing the alacrity with which  
 confessors braved martyrdom. Ter-  
 nullian *Apolog. c. 50: Ergo, inqui-*

et est eis tutius <sup>9</sup>per Jovis genium pejerare quam C. XXIX.  
regis.

7 Cruces etiam nec colimus <sup>10</sup>nec optamus. Vos  
plane qui ligneos deos consecratis, cruces ligneas  
ut deorum vestrorum partes forsitan adoratis. Nam  
et signa ipsa et <sup>11</sup>cantabra et vexilla castrorum  
quid aliud quam inauratae cruces sunt, et ornatae?  
<sup>12</sup>Tropaea vestra victoria non tantum simplicis crucis  
faciem, verum et adfixi hominis imitantur. Sig-  
num sane crucis naturaliter visimus <sup>13</sup>in navi, quum  
velis tumentibus vehitur, quum expansis palmulis  
labitur: et quum erigitur jugum, crucis signum  
est, et <sup>14</sup>quum homo porrectis manibus Deum pura-  
mente veneratur. Ita signo crucis aut <sup>15</sup>ratio natu-  
ralis innititur aut vestra religio formatur.

The charge of  
worshipping  
crosses also is  
a libel upon  
us, though it  
is one which  
may be  
brought home  
to yourselves.

tis, cur querimini, quod vos inse-  
quamur, si pati *vultis*, cum deligere  
debeat, per quos patimini, quod  
*vultis*. The next sentence may be  
translated, "Certainly in your own  
case, it may be a question whether  
you, who worship wooden gods, do  
not worship cross timbers, as being  
part and parcel of your gods."

<sup>11</sup> *cantabra*, "banners." The  
precise difference between these and  
*vexilla* is unknown, as the word  
only occurs in this passage and in  
Tertullian, *Apol. c. xvi*: Siphara  
illa *vexillorum et cantabro-*  
*rum stola crucum sunt: where*  
*most of the sentiments which occur in*  
*this chapter will be found repeated.*

<sup>12</sup> *tropa*. Tertullian, *Apol. l. c.:*  
sed et Victoriae adoratis, cum in  
tropaeis cruces intestina sint tro-  
peorum; See Woodham's note on  
the passage, p. 55, and *The Dict. of*

*Antiqq. p. 1169 b.*

<sup>13</sup> *in navi etc.* Justin M. *Apol. i.*  
c. 55: θαλασσα μὲν γὰρ οὐ τέμνεται,  
ἡν μὴ τοῦτο τὸ τρόπαιον, δὲ καλεῖ-  
ται λοτίο, ἐν τῷ νηὶ σῶν μείνη,  
ubi plura Kortholt. Argumentum  
fculneum, ut ait Davies.  
*Expansis palmulis*, "with oars  
spread out."

<sup>14</sup> *quum homo etc.* Justinus *l. c.*  
ἐκτασις χειρῶν ἔχειν.....οὐδὲν δὲλλο  
δείκνυσιν η τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ.

<sup>15</sup> *ratio naturalis innititur*; sig-  
num crucis aut rationem habet in  
natura, aut vestra religio ex eo con-  
sistit. LINDNER. The conclusion  
which Octavius means to draw, is  
that the heathen ought not to ob-  
ject to the use of the cross amongst  
Christians, who did not worship it,  
when it was so much in vogue  
amongst themselves both in religious  
and common uses.

## C. XXX.

You say that *infanticide* is one of the rites of our religion; such a charge, as it provokes our abhorrence, so could never be believed but by those who are themselves familiar with, and capable of, bloodshed.

Illum jam velim <sup>1</sup>convenire, qui initiari nos dicit aut credit <sup>2</sup>de cæde infantis et sanguine. Putas posse fieri, ut tam molle, tam parvulum corpus <sup>3</sup>fata vulnerum capiat? ut quisquam illum rudem sanguinem novelli et <sup>4</sup>vixdum hominis cædat, fundat, exhaustiat? <sup>5</sup>nemo hoc potest credere, nisi qui possit audere. Vos enim video procreatos filios nunc <sup>2</sup>feris et avibus <sup>6</sup>exponere, nunc adstrangulatos misero mortis genere elidere: sunt quæ in ipsis

Ch. XXX. <sup>1</sup> convenire, "to meet." "Insignis *περὶ θνήσια*," remarks Lindner, "pro videre."

<sup>2</sup> de cæde. I have already remarked on the use of this preposition in later latinity: see passages in Index II. Here it is used to mark "the instrument," or "means:" just as in the expressions, *de fascia constringere*, *de canna occidere*, *de tornio compонere*, which occur in Marcellus. Vide Salmasius ad Lampsacus. *Alex. Sever.* c. 37, quoted by Hand, *Turcellin.* Vol. ii. p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> fata vulnerum capiat, i.e. fatalia vulnera; "should have room for several mortal wounds."

<sup>4</sup> vixdum hominis, i.e. qui vix-dum est homo. Comp. above, ch. xxii. § 13: semper adolescentis Apollini filius. So Catullus, iv. 11: ubi ille post phaselus (i.e. qui postea fuit) ante fuit Comata Silva: Horace, *Od.* iv. 6. 3. Trojæ prope victor, i.e. qui prope fuit. The expression *rudem sanguinem cædat* is worthy of notice. Comp. Burmann *ad Quintil. Instit.* i. 1. p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> nemo hoc potest credere. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 9: qui ista credis de homine; potes et facere. EL. MENHORST.

<sup>6</sup> exponere. Comp. Lactantius,

*Div. Inst.* v. 15; vi. 20, 18—21; non de nostro sed ex illorum numero semper existunt, qui natos ex se pueros aut strangulat aut, si nimium pii fuerint, exponant: Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 9: *ad Nat.* ii. c. 12; Plin. *Lib.* x. *ep.* 71, 72; Justin M. *Apol.* i. cc. 27, 29; *Epist. ad Diogn.* τεκνογονοῦσιν (οἱ Χριστιανοὶ) ἀλλ' οὐ ρίπτονται τὰ γεννημένα; Athenag. *Legat.* c. 30, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> extinguant. Juv. *Sat.* ii. 32; vi. 368. Comp. Athenag. *Leg. l. c.*: οἱ τὰς τοῖς ἀμβλωποις διδόντες χρωμένας διδροφονεῖν τε καὶ λόγου ὑφέξειν τῆς ἀξιμβλώσεως τῷ Θεῷ φαμὲν, κατὰ ποῖον διδροφονοῦμεν λόγον; Oehler on Tertullian, *Apol.* p. 147, note x.

*Parcicidium*, is said of any "unnatural murder;" as of "fratricide," ch. xxv. § 2: of a parent's murder of his own children, as here and in ch. xxxi. § 10. Comp. Liv. III. 50, VIII. 11; Ramsay's *Roman Antiqq.* p. 304; *Classical Museum*, Vol. III. p. 301.

<sup>8</sup> disciplina, "practice," "custom:" cf. ch. xxv. § 4. *Voravit*: κατέπινε: Herod. v. 463; Tatian, c. *Grac.* p. 162; Lactant. *D. I.* i. 13.

<sup>9</sup> merito, i. q. recte, "with good reason;" cf. Bünemann on Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* p. 866. Thæ

visceribus, medicaminibus epotis, originem futuri c. xxx.  
 hominis <sup>7</sup>extinguant et parricidium faciant ante  
 s quam pariant. Et hæc utique de deorum vestro-  
 rum <sup>8</sup>disciplina descendunt. Nam Saturnus filios  
 suos non exposuit, sed voravit. <sup>9</sup>Merito ei in non-  
 nullis Africæ partibus a parentibus infantes immo-  
 labantur, blanditiis et osculo comprimente vagitum,  
 4 ne <sup>10</sup>flebilis hostia immoletur. <sup>11</sup>Tauris etiam Pon-  
 ticus et Ægyptio Busiridi ritus fuit hospites immo-

oblation of human sacrifices by the Phœnicians to Saturn is mentioned by Plato, *Minos*, p. 315, b, c: Ennius, *Annales*, Lib. i. p. 28, seq. ed. *Hesettius*; Pescennius Festus, quoted by Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* i. 21, 13; Curtius Rufus *Alex. Vit. Lib.* iv. c. 16; Diodorus Sic. *Bibl. Hist.* Lib. xx. cap. 14; Plutarch *τερπ δαιμόνια*; Porphyrius, *de abstin.* ii. 56; Justinus, *Hist.* xviii. 6, 11; Silius Italicus, iv. 765; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7; Tatian *or. ad Græc.* c. 46; Origen, c. *Cels.* v. § 27, p. 249; Athanasius, *adv. gent.* c. 26; Tertullian *Apol.* c. 9; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* iv. 16, p. 158, a; *Scorpiae* c. 7; Prudentius *adv. Symmach.* II. 296, sq.; Augustine *de C. D.* vii. 19. Comp. Magee on the *Atonement*, Vol. i. p. 96, *foli.* Saturn is identified with Moloch, the god of the Ammonites, *Levitic.* xviii. 21; *1 Kings* xi. 5; *Psalm* cvi. v. 37; *Jeremiah* vii. 31. See Selden, *de dis Syris syntagma.* c. xvii.

<sup>10</sup> *flebilis*, i. e. quis fiet. The ancients considered it a bad omen for an unwilling victim to be sacrificed: Macrobius, *Saturn.* III. 5, observatum est a sacrificantibus ut si hostia fuisset vehementius reluctata amoveretur, quia invito Dœo eam

afferri putabant; Plin. *N. H.* viii. 45; Lucan *Bell. Phars.* vii. 156; Tertullian *Apol.* c. ix.

<sup>11</sup> *Tauris*. The Tauri, who lived in the peninsula, called from them *Taurica Chersonesos* (now Crimea), on the Palus Maeotis, used to sacrifice shipwrecked strangers on the altar of Diana. On this custom, Euripides founded the tragedy of *Iphigenia in Tauris*; Ovid. *Trist.* iv. El. iv. 93; Pont. i. ii. 80; Juvenal, *Sat.* xv. 115; Lucret. i. 83; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 36, c. iii. § 42; Athenag. p. 29, c. xxiii; Origen, l.c.; Athanas. c. *Gent.* p. 21, quoted at length by Oehler on Tertullian *Apol.* c. ix. p. 145.

*Busiridi*. Apollod. ii. 5, § 11; Hygin. *fab.* 420; Valer. Flacc. *Argonaut.* ii. 301; Comp. Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 5:

Illaudent Busiridis aras;  
Ovid, *A. A.* i. 647, *foli.*; *Metamorph.* ix. 293; Juvenal, *Sat.* xv. 128, sqq.

*Mercurio*: Tacitus, *de Mor. Germ.* c. x.; under the name of *Tentates*. Lactant. *D. I.* i. xxi. 3; Caesar, *B. G.* vi. 16; *Annal.* i. 61; xiii. 57; Lucan, *Phars.* i. v. 444: *Et quibus immittis placatur sanguine diro Tentates, horrenque foris altaribus Esua,* Suetonius speaks of the abolition of

c. xxx. lare : et Mercurio <sup>12</sup> Gallos humanas vel inhumanas victimas cædere. <sup>13</sup> Romani Græcum et Græcam, Gallum et Gallam, sacrificia viventes obruere : hodieque ab ipsis <sup>14</sup> Latiaris Jupiter homicidio colitur : et quod Saturni filio dignum est, mali et noxii hominis sanguine saginatur. Ipsum credo docuisse 5 sanguinis fœdere conjurare <sup>15</sup> Catilinam, et <sup>16</sup> Bellonam sacrum suum haustu humani cruoris im-

this cruelty by the emperor Claudius:  
*Vit. Claud.* § 25.

<sup>12</sup> *Gallos*, sc. ritus fuit. The construction is changed from dative to accusative.

*Vel inhumanas*, “or rather inhuman.” So *vel* is used for *vel potius* in Cicero *de amicit.* c. 12: *Epist. Fam.* iv. 13 *exir.*

<sup>13</sup> *Romani Græcum et Græcam*. For the allusion see Liv. xxii. 57, 6: Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta, inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca in foro boario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo con-septum ; ibi ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum : Plutarch, *Marcell.* vit. p. 299; *Ques.* *Rom.* p. 283.

*Sacrificia. Sacrifici*, the MS. reading, is explained by Davies to be in the genitive after *causa* or *concilio* understood. The other readings proposed are *sacrifici*, i. e. “priests;” *sacrificis*, i. q. in *sacrificiis*: J. Gronovius, *sacri vice*.

<sup>14</sup> *Latiaris Jupiter*. See note on ch. xxi. § 15. Comp. Lactant. i. 21; Prudentius, *adv. Symm.* i. 307; *Hodieque*, ‘even to the present day.’

*Saginatur*, “is fattened.” The word occurs above, ch. xxvii. 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Catilinam*. Vide Sallust c.

xxii. with Merivale’s note; Tertullian, *l. c.*

<sup>16</sup> *Bellonam*. The votaries of Bellona ran up and down, lancing their arms with sharp knives (like the priests of Baal, 1 Kings xviii. 28) on the 23rd and 24th of March. See above ch. xxiv. § 6; Lactant, *D. I.* i. 21; Tibullus, *Eleg.* i. 6; Juv. *Sat.* vi. 512; iv. 124; Horace, *Sat.* ii. 2. 223; Martial xii. 57, 11. *Sacrum* is explained by some to be equivalent to “sacrificium,” by others to be put for “sacratum,” in the sense of “devotee,” as in *Aen.* iv. 484. Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 9: *hodie istic Bellonæ sacrificatos sanguis de femore procisso parvula exceptus et suis datus signat. Item illi, qui munere in arena noxiorum jugulatorum sanguinem recentem, avida siti comitiali morbo medentes hauserunt, ubi sunt?* Celsus, *de Med.* iii. 28, says: *quidam jugulati gladiatoris sanguine epoto tali morbo sese liberarunt. Aretaeus Cappadox, de morb. d. cur.* i. p. 312, ed. Kühn, says with better judgment, that no one can affirm it to be an effectual remedy: [θεασδ-μην διθράπον γε νεοσφαγέος ὑποθέντας φιάλην τῷ τρώματι καὶ δρυσαμένους τοῦ αἷματος πίνωντας ὁ τῆς παρεόνσης μεγάλης διδύκης, τλῆνται κακὸν ἀκέσσοθας μιάσματα;

buere, et comitialem morbum hominis sanguine, C. XXX.

6 id est morbo graviore, sanare. Non dissimiles et qui de arena feras devorant illitas et infectas cruento, vel membris hominis et <sup>17</sup> viscere saginatas.

7 <sup>18</sup> Nobis homicidium nec videre fas nec audire: tantumque ab humano sanguine cavemus, <sup>19</sup> ut nec edulium pecorum in cibis sanguinem neverimus.

<sup>1</sup> Et de incesto convivio fabulam grandem adver- C. XXXL

κακῷ εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅγεις ἐκ τούτου ἀγένοντο, ἀπρεκὲς οὐδεὶς ἔχει μοι λέγειν.] Pliny, *N. H.* xxviii. 11, § 2, mentions this strange and empirical remedy for the *morbus caducus*, (i. e. epilepsy) in terms of generous abhorrence. HAILES.

<sup>17</sup> *viscere saginatas*. See Salvian. *de Provid.* vi. p. 121; Apulej. *Met.* iv. p. 58; and comp. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. ix: ubi sunt item illi qui de arena ferinis obsoniis coenant? qui de apro, qui de cervo petunt? Aper ille quem cruentavit collucando detersit: cervus ille in gladiatori sanguine jactavit. Iporum ursorum alvei appetuntur cruditanentes adhuc de visceribus humanis: Apulej. *Met.* iv. 4.

<sup>18</sup> *nobis homicidium nec videre fas etc.* Athenagoras *suppl. pro Christ.* p. 38: οὐδὲ γάρ ἵσταιν οὐδὲ ιδεῖν κανδικαίως φονευόμενον ὑπομένοντας, τούτων τις δὲ κατείποι ὃνθρωποφονίαν ἡ ὄνθρωποφαγίαν: Theophr. *ad Autolyc.* Lib. iii. § 5, p. 178: σκότει εἰ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα μανθάνοντες δύνανται ἀδιαφόρως ἔην, ὅπου γε καὶ τὰς θέας τῶν πονομάχων ημῖν ἀπειρηγταὶ δρᾶν, ίπα μὴ κοινωνοὶ καὶ συνστορεὶς φόνων γενομένα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς λοιπὰς θεωρίας δρᾶν χρή, ίπα μὴ μολὼνται ημῖν οἱ δρθαλ-

μοι καὶ τὰ ὡτα γιγνόμενα ξυμβοτοχα τῶν ἑκεὶ φενῶν φόδομένων;

Tertullian, *de Spectac.* cc. xix, xx.

*Audire*, h. e. tragediis interesse.

<sup>19</sup> *ut nec edulium pecorum sanguinem neverimus*, "that we do not even taste the blood of animals that are provided for our sustenance." The use of blood, as food, is spoken of as interdicted to Christians in all churches, from the earliest to the latest times. *Ep. Lugd. et Vienn.* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1; Clem. *Pædag.* ii. 1: iii. 3, *ed. Potter*: Tertullian, *Apol.* ix; Origen, c. *Cels.* viii. 30, p. 783; Cyril, *Julian.* iv. 28; with other passages quoted by Oehler on Tertullian, c. 9, p. 149, and in the Oxford Translation, Vol. i. p. 107, *foli.*

Ch. XXXI. <sup>1</sup> *et de incesto convivio etc.*, "and as for the story of our incestuous banquet, it is a gross untruth, which the same dæmons have artfully invented against us in order to sully our character for chastity by raising counter reports to our disgrace so as to scare men from us, before ever they have examined into the truth, by frightening them with horrible fancies about us."

By *aversione infamie* I understand, "the turning men's attention away with their calumnies." Le

C. XXXI. sum nos dæmonum coitio mentita est, ut gloriam pudicitiae deformis infamiae aversione macularet: ut ante exploratam veritatem homines a nobis terrore infandæ opinionis, averteret. Sic de isto et <sup>2</sup>tuus Fronto, non ut affirmator testimonium fecit, sed convictionem ut orator, aspersit. Hæc enim potius de vestris gentibus nata sunt. <sup>3</sup>Jus est apud Persas misceri cum matribus: <sup>4</sup>Ægyptiis et Athenis cum sororibus legitima connubia: <sup>5</sup>memoriæ et tragœdiæ vestræ incestis gloriantur, quas vos libenter et legitis et auditis: sic et deos colitis incestos, <sup>6</sup>cum matre, cum filia, cum sorore conjunctos. <sup>7</sup>Me-

The story of our incestuous banquet is a foul plot on the part of the demons to mar our character for chastity, and scare away our adversaries from us at once, without allowing them due time for enquiry: even if it were true, it is no more than what is justified by your own shameless practices.

Nourry takes it to be a legal term explained by Forcellini, Lexicon, s. v.: most editors have adopted Wouwer's emendation *adspersione*.

<sup>2</sup> *tuus Fronto* may mean either "your countryman," or "the author whom you appeal to." See ch. ix. § 8, note; and Introduction § 2.

<sup>3</sup> *jus est apud Persas etc.* Tertullian, *Apol.* c. ix; Tatian, *or. ad Gr.* § 28, p. 164; Clem. *Recogn.* ix. 20; Diog. Laert. ix. § 83; Lucian, *de Sacrif.* Tom. i. p. 530, 5; Origen, c. *Cels.* v. p. 248; Theodore, *de legg.* ix. p. 614.

<sup>4</sup> *Ægyptiis et Athenis, etc.* "with the Egyptians and at Athens," &c. The former allowed marriages between uterine brothers and sisters. See Diodor. Sic. i. c. 27, who traces the origin of the custom to the example of Isis. Pausan. *Attic.* vii; Philo, *de Special. leg.* p. 533; the latter only with δομοκάτριοι. See Cærn. Nepos *Vit. Cimon.* cap. i: Athenæns *Deipnosoph.* xiii. p. 589; Muretus *V. L.* vii. i.

<sup>5</sup> *memoriae*, "memoirs." See ch.

vii. note 2; and Tertullian, ch. xviii. with Woodham's note.

<sup>6</sup> *cum matre.* Jupiter is reported to have had children by his mother Rhea, his sister Juno, and his daughter Kore. Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* c. ii. § 16: Δηνῦς δὲ μυστήρια καὶ Διὸς πρόδε μητέρα Δήμητραν δέροδίσιοι συμπλοκαῖ: and, μίγνυται δὲ αὐθεὶς ὁ γεννητας οὐτοὶ Ζεὺς τῷ Φερσεφάττῃ τῷ δίλε θυγατρὶ...δράκων γενόμενος: Athenagoras, *suppl. pro Chr.* cap. xxvii: χρῆν δὲ αὐτούς...ένδι Διὰ μεμισηκέναι ἐκ μητρός μὲν Ρέας, θυγατρός δὲ Κόρης πεταιδοποιημένου: also ch. xx; Tatian *or. ad Gr.* cc. 8, 10, ed. Otto; Arnobius *adv. gent.* Lib. v. c. 21; see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* i. 586, sqq.

<sup>7</sup> *merito*, "no wonder that," "not without reason." Comp. ch. i. note 3; ch. xxx. note 5.

<sup>8</sup> *parrim*, "indiscriminately:" see ch. v. § 11, note. The expression *alienæ misericordias exponere* was the current one (Lactant. *D. I.* vi. xx. 21, 22; Tertullian, *ad Nat.* i.

rito igitur incestum penes vos s<sup>e</sup>pe deprehenditur, c. XXXI.  
 semper admittitur: etiam nescientes miseri potestis  
 in illicita proruere, dum Venerem promise spar-  
 gitis, dum <sup>8</sup>passim liberos seritis, dum etiam domi-  
 natos alienæ misericordiæ frequenter exponitis:  
 necesse est in vestros recurrere, <sup>9</sup>in filios inerrare.  
 4 <sup>10</sup>Sic incesti fabulam nectitis, etiam quum conscienciam non habetis.

5 At nos pudorem <sup>11</sup>non facie, sed mente p<sup>r</sup>aestamus: <sup>12</sup>unius matrimonii vinculo libenter inhæremus; <sup>13</sup>cupiditate procreandi aut unam scimus aut  
 6 nullam. Convivia non tantum pudica colimus, sed

But our pre-tensions to temperance and modesty are genuine and unaffected.

c. 16) for a custom, the allusions to which are plentiful in classical authors.

<sup>9</sup> in filios inerrare, "to fall foul upon (i. e. incur the danger of carnal intercourse with) your own children." Comp. ch. xxxvii. § 3, errasset in regem: and on the subject of the passage see Tertullian, *Apol.* c. ix; Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* Lib. III. c. iii. p. 265 ed. Potter; Justin M. *Apolog.* I. c. 27, p. 71; Lactant. *Inst. Div.* vi. 20. The use of *filiī* as applied to both sexes has a parallel in that of *fratres, dii*; Hildebr. ad Apulej. *Metam.* II. c. 7. T. I. p. 88: Arnobius iv. 16, speaking of the birth of Minerva, says "ex capite conceptos filios procreat."

<sup>10</sup> sic incesti fabulam nectitis. The allusion and meaning are well given in Lord Hailes' translation: "thus unwittingly incestuous you repeat the tragical story of Oedipus."

<sup>11</sup> non facie, i. e. non solum facie, sed et mente p<sup>r</sup>aestamus, or perhaps, "not outwardly, but inwardly."

<sup>12</sup> unius matrimonii vinculo li-

benter inhæremus. The early Christians, apparently from a misinterpretation put on certain passages in Holy Writ, (Matth. v. 32; xix. 5; 1 Cor. vii. 8, foll.) condemned second marriages. Athenagoras, p. 37, c. xxviii. calls such marriageς εὐκρεπῆ ποιεῖας: Justin M. *Apol.* I. 15: οἱ νόμοι αὐθωπίνῳ διγαμίᾳ ποιούμενοι ἀμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ τῷ θημέτρῳ διδασκαλῷ εἰσι, where however see the remarks in Otto's edition p. 38, concerning the sense in which διγαμία was understood. Tertullian also reprobates the practice in equally strong language: he calls it adulterium; dedecus voluptuosum; confusionem. See the Treatise *de Monog.*, Cotelarius on the Shepherd of Hermas, II. *Mand.* iv. § 4: and on the question of ordination in connection with this, consult note N. p. 419 in Vol. I. of the Oxford Translation of Tertullian. The qualifying adverb *libenter* makes it at least doubtful whether Minucius held the same decided opinion.

<sup>13</sup> cupiditate procreandi etc.

C. XXXI. et sobria; nec enim indulgemus epulis aut convivium mero ducimus, sed gravitate hilaritatem temperamus. Casto sermone, corpore castiore, plerique <sup>14</sup>inviolati corporis virginitate perpetua frumentur potius, quam gloriantur. Tantum denique abest incesti cupido, ut nonnullis rubori sit etiam pudica conjunctio.

Again, our disregard of your temporal honours does not put us on a level with the lowest rabble: nor is our exclusiveness or enmity to the state to be

<sup>15</sup> Nec de ultima statim plebe consistimus, si <sup>7</sup> honores vestros et purpuras recusamus: nec <sup>16</sup>fastidiosi sumus, si omnes unum bonum sapimus, eadem congregati quiete qua singuli: nec <sup>17</sup>in angulis garruli, si audire nos publice aut erubescitis aut timetis.

"when we have a desire to increase and multiply, we know either one wife or else none at all." Tacitus records that of the Germans, "sic unum accipiunt maritum, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, nec tanquam maritum sed tanquam matrimonium ament;" *German. c. ix*: Comp. Justin M. *Apol.* i. a. 29: δλλ. οτι την αρχην οικ θυμοσιεν, ει μη επι παιδων διατροφη ή παραιτομενοι το γηρασθαι τελεον διεγκρατευόμεθα: Athenag. *suppl. pro Chr.* c. xxviii: ειτ ο γεωργός καταβάλλων ειτ γῆν τὰ σπέρματα διηγτον περιμένειν οὐκέπειρον, καὶ ημῖν μέτρον διποιμίατος η παιδοποία: cap. xxix: γυναῖκα μὲν ἔκαστος ημῶν ην φύσετο κατὰ τὸν ὄφη ημῶν τεθειμένους ιόμοντος νομίζουν καὶ ταῦτην μέχρι τοῦ παιδοποίησασθαι: Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* ii. 10, § 95: γάμος η παιδοποίας δρεξει.

<sup>14</sup> inviolati corporis virginitate perpetua. Athenag. *suppl. pro Chr.* c. xxviii, p. 37: εἴροις δ' ἀν πολλοὺς τῶν παρ' ημῖν καὶ δύντας καὶ γυναῖκας καταγγύρασκοντας ἀγάμους

δλπίδι τοῦ μᾶλλον συνέσεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ: Justin M. *Apol.* i. c. 18; Tertullian, *Apol.* c. ix; Origen, c. *Cels.* i. p. 26; iii. p. 364.

<sup>15</sup> nec...statim, i. q. nec ideo, "it does not necessarily or without exception follow that"; in which sense *non continuo* is a mere classical expression. Hand, *Tertullian.* Vol. II. p. 106.

*De ultima plebe.* In allusion to the cavil of Cæcilius, ch. viii. § 4.

<sup>16</sup> fastidiosi, "exclusive." Most editors have deserted the MS. reading for that proposed by Heraldus, *viz. factiosi*, on the supposition that an answer is intended to be given to Cæcilius' objection against the Christians, of their organising secret cabals, ch. viii. 3, 4: but without sufficient ground, because the answer to that accusation, as Le Nourry remarks, may be contained in the words *unum bonum sapimus*, or in *eadem congregati quiete, qua singuli*.

*Unum bonum sapimus.* Here again the editors have, after Ursinus, enclosed *bonum* in brackets; sup-

8 Et quod in dies <sup>18</sup>nostri numerus augetur, non c. XXXI.  
 est crimen erroris, sed testimonium laudis; nam inferred  
 in pulchro genere vivendi et perstat et perseverat from our  
 suus et accrescit alienus. Sic nos denique <sup>19</sup>non having a  
 notaculo corporis, ut putatis, sed innocentiae ac common bond of  
 modestiae signo facile dignoscimus: sic mutuo, quod  
 doletis, amore diligimus, quoniam odisse non novi-  
 mus: sic nos, quod invidetis, FRATRES vocamus,  
 ut unius Dei parentis homines, ut consortes fidei,  
 10 ut spei coheredes. Vos enim nec invicem agno-  
 scitis et in mutua odia sœvitis, <sup>20</sup>nec fratres vos, we are a sim-  
 nisi sane ad parricidium recognoscitis.

modestiae signo facile dignoscimus: sic mutuo, quod  
 doletis, amore diligimus, quoniam odisse non novi-  
 mus: sic nos, quod invidetis, FRATRES vocamus,  
 ut unius Dei parentis homines, ut consortes fidei,  
 10 ut spei coheredes. Vos enim nec invicem agno-  
 scitis et in mutua odia sœvitis, <sup>20</sup>nec fratres vos, we are a sim-  
 nisi sane ad parricidium recognoscitis.

posing that the expression *unum sapiens* is a version of St Paul's *ad ad iudicium frumentorum vestrum*. Rom. xv. 5; Philip. ii. 2.

<sup>17</sup> in angulis garruli. [Refutare vult, quod vituperaverat Cœsilius cap. viii. ubi vocavit eos in publicam seutos, in angulis garrulos: ita nunc rursus angulos iterat, sed Gallica versio hos angulos nullos agnoscit vel expressit: sed illic "qui ne disent "rien en public, et ne cessent de parler, quand ils sont ensemble:" nunc quoque paraphrasin densam profert: "puisque nous sommes appelliez à de mesmes espérances, et que nous avons obtenu la paix par un même moyen. Pour ne pouvoir aussi nous entretenir, qu'en particulier, il ne s'ensuit pas que nous n'osions dire mot en public. C'est vous qui estes cause de ce silence, ayant etc." Ubi est in his Minucius Felix? Angulos intelligere potest vel platearum, ut tanquam sophistes circumforanei magna jactatione facundie venditemus ea quae obtinere nos iestamur; sive templorum, ut quemadmodum in eos ex

consortii adsuevimus sevocare quibuscum aliquid sine arbitratu aliorum communicare volumus; ita manifeste nunc explicit *seductio Divos*, quo vocat Persius in Satira ii. [v. 4], ut Octavius perstringat Cœsilium spectantem Christianos ut gentilium vulgus in templis quasi sevocarent Deos ab media turba collentis vel sede sua in angulos, ut votis paciscerentur. J. ex.]

<sup>18</sup> nostri numerus. So ch. xxvii. § 2. in perditionem sui: ch. xxxii. 2. in usum mei: ch. xxxiv. 12. solatium nostri.

<sup>19</sup> non notaculo. See ch. ix. § 2. The meaning probably is, "not merely," or "not so much." (Comp. above, note 11, § 5). "Minucius could not mean to assert, contrary to the observation and knowledge of every one, that the Christians did not cross or sign themselves." HAILES. See Tertullian, *de Corona mil.* c. iv; *de Spectac.* c. xxiv, with Oehler's note; Hieronym. *Ep. xviii. ad Eustoch.*; *Ep. xvii. ad Demetrian.* p. 790.

<sup>20</sup> nec fratres vos nisi sane ad

The daily re-  
 cruitment of  
 our ranks is  
 a credit to  
 us: and our  
 'brother-  
 hood' is the  
 token of our  
 joint hope  
 and profes-  
 sion, as hav-  
 ing one Fa-  
 ther, even  
 GOD.

C. XXXII.

You argue that "because we have no altars and shrines, we conceal the object of our worship." As though man himself were not God's image, as though his soul were not fittest temple for Him,

Putatis autem nos occultare quod colimus, si  
 'delubra et aras non habemus? quod enim simulacrum Deo fingam, quum, si recte existimes, sit  
 'Dei homo ipse simulacrum? templum quod ei  
 extruam, quum totus hic mundus ejus opere fabricatus, eum capere non possit? et 'quum homo  
 latius maneam, intra unam 'ædiculam vim tantæ  
 majestatis includam? nonne melius 'in nostra 2

*parricidium recognoscitis.* Lord Hailes supposes that this relates to some incident at Rome, which was familiar to the speakers in this dialogue, though unknown to us. He conjectures that "the author alludes "although with much caution to the "speech of the emperor Caracalla "to the Roman senate, immediately "after the murder of his brother "Geta, [A.D. 211]. Dion Cassius says "in general, that the emperor made "a short speech to the senate, lxxvi; "but Spartan, *Hist. Aug. script.* p. "86, has preserved the substance and, "probably, some of the words of that "speech. 'Tunc sub ueste senatoria "loricam habens, cum armatis "militibus curiam ingressus est. "Hos in medio inter subsellia "duplici ordine collocavit et "sic verba fecit. Questus est de "fratris insidiis involute et incon- "dite ad illius accusationem, sui "vero excusationem; quod quidem "nec senatus libenter accepit, "quum ille dixisset fratri se om- "nia permisisse, fratrem ab insidiis "liberasse: et illum tamen sibi gra- "vissimas insidias facisse, nec vicem "amori reddidisse fraterno.' The "nauseous repetition of the word "frater and fraternus on such an "occasion may possibly be alluded to

"in the phrase *nec fratres vos, nisi  
 "sane ad parricidia recognoscitis.*"

Comp. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxxix.

Ch. XXXII. <sup>1</sup> *delubra et aras.*  
 See ch. x. § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Dei homo ipse simulacrum.*  
 Comp. 2 *Corinth.* vi. 16; Lactant. *D. I.* ii. 2. 16; S. Ambrose on *Psalm xviii. Serm. x.* § 25. Clemens Alex. *Stromm. Lib. vii.* c. 5: Suicer *The-  
 saur. Eccl.* s. v. δύαλμα. II. 2. The student may find it worth his while to read the observations of the Oxford Translator of Tertullian, (Vol. i. p. 109, note n) on the principles of the early Christians in regard to Image-worship, in answer to the arguments of Romanists.

<sup>3</sup> *quum homo latius maneam,*  
 "whereas I, a mere mortal being, have a more spacious dwelling." Cyprian, *de Id. vox.* v. 6, has copied the language as well as the sentiment. From this use of *manere* for *habitare*, is derived indirectly our word "mansion." Comp. that of πένειν, *John* i. 38; *Matthew* x. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *ædiculam*, properly, "a shrine or chapel, representing the form of a temple, and containing the image of a god," especially the Lares, called also *lararium*: see Ramsay on *Tibullus*, i. 1, p. 136; Juv. *Sat.* viii. v. 111; Cic. *pro domo*, c. xxix.

dedicandus est mente? in nostro imo consecrandus C.XXXII.  
 est pectore? Hostias et victimas Deo offeram,  
 quas in usum mei protulit, ut <sup>6</sup>rejiciam ei suum  
 munus? ingratum est: quum sit <sup>7</sup>litabilis hostia  
 bonus animus et pura mens et sincera sententia.  
 3 Igitur qui innocentiam colit, Domino supplicat,  
 qui justitiam, Deo libat: qui fraudibus abstinet,  
 propitiat Deum: qui hominem periculo subripit,

whose majesty the very universe cannot contain, much less any fabric of wood and stone: in whose sight the most acceptable sacrifices are a good disposition, and a clean conscience.

Here it is used simply as a diminutive of *oedes*, “a narrow apartment,” (see note on ch. x. 4, and add to the passages there given, Pindar *Pyth.* iv. v. 5, with Dissen’s note), to represent more strongly the unworthiness of such a place to circumscribe the majesty of God. Arnobius calls such chapels in characteristic language *tuguriola, conclavia, cellulae*.

<sup>6</sup> *in nostra dedicandus est mente.* These sentiments are repeated by Origen, c. *Cels.* Lib. viii. p. 389: *θυμοὶ μέν εἰσιν ἡμῖν τὸ ἐκάστου τῶν δικαίων ὑγεμονικόν, ἀφ’ οὐ ἀναπέμπεται ἀληθῶς καὶ νοητῶς ἐνώδη θυμιάματα, προσενχάλι ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως καθαράς.* *In nostro imo pectore*, “in our inmost heart of hearts.” Seneca has the same expression ap. Lactant. *de vero cultu*, c. 25, § 3.

<sup>7</sup> *rejiciam*: emphatic, “am I to fling back ungratefully to him?”

*Deo.* The MS. has *do*: which may stand for either *Deo* or *Dominio*.

<sup>7</sup> *litabilis hostia bonus animus*, i.e. qua Deus placari potest. [Prudentius contra Symmach. II. 841: *Justitiamque litant et templum peccatoris ornant.*

J. GR.]

The sentiment is borrowed from *Psalm iv. 5: li. 17—19. Comp. 1 Sam. xv. 22; Tertullian ad Scapul. c. 11; Euseb. Dem. Ev. I. 10; Lact. D. I. vi. § 4; Athenag. Suppl. c. xii. p. 13; Justin M. Apol. ii. p. 45; Clem. Alex. Stromm. vii. c. 5. § 29: τὸ γάρ περι πολλοῦ ἔξιον ζῶον τῷ τοῦ παντὸς δέξια μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδένος δυταξίη, δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀγιότητος καθιέρωται. εἴη δὲ ἄν οὗτος ὁ γνωστικὸς ὁ πολλοῦ ἔξιος ὁ τίμιος τῷ θεῷ, ἐν φόρῳ δὲ θεός ἐνίδρυται, τούτεστιν ή περι τοῦ θεοῦ γνῶσις καθιέρωται. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ ἀπεικόνισμα εὑροιμεν ἀν τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἄγιον ἀγαλμα ἐν τῇ δικαίᾳ Φυχῆ, οὔταν μακάρια μήν αὐτῇ τυγχάνῃ ἀπε τη προκεκαθαρμένη μακάρια δὲ διαπραττομένη ἔργα;* Porphyr. *de Abst. Anim.* ii. 36: *Cicerone de N. D.*

It is made use of by the Chevalier Bunsen in his remarkable dissertation to shew the true Nature of the Christian Sacrifice. See the *Hippolytus and his age*, Vol. iv. p. 129; also Vol. ii. p. 200, foll., and Appendix A. 1, p. 263, where will be found other passages from Justin Martyr to Augustine, quoted by the learned author in illustration of the same views.

c. xxxii. <sup>8</sup>optimam victimam cædit. Hæc nostra sacrificia, hæc Dei sacra sunt: sic apud nos religiosior est ille qui justior.

Our inability to see God with our fleshly eyes does not imply His non-existence. We are sensible of His existence from the works of His hands. If other things defy our vision, such as the Wind, the Sun, the Soul of Man, can you wonder that the supreme Creator of these is himself not an object of sense?

<sup>9</sup> At enim quem colimus Deum nec ostendimus <sup>4</sup> nec videmus. Immo ex hoc Deum credimus, quod eum sentire possumus, videre non possumus: <sup>10</sup> in operibus enim ejus et in mundi omnibus motibus virtutem ejus semper præsentem adspicimus: quum tonat, fulgurat, fulminat, quum serenat. Nec <sup>5</sup> mireris, si Deum non vides: vento et flatibus omnia impelluntur, vibrantur, agitantur, et <sup>11</sup> sub oculis tamen non venit ventus et flatus. <sup>12</sup> In sole adeo, qui videndi omnibus causa est, videre non possumus: radiis acies submovetur, obtutus intuentes hebetatur, et si diutius inspicias, omnis visus extinguitur. Quid? ipsum solis artificem, illum <sup>6</sup> luminis fontem possis sustinere, quum te ab ejus fulgoribus avertas, a fulminibus abscondas? Deum

<sup>8</sup> optimam victimam. Festus, p. 308: ii. optatam hostiam alii optimam appellant eam, quam sedilis tribus constitutis hostiis optat, quam immolari velit. Alii optimam.

<sup>9</sup> at enim. See ch. x. § 5.

<sup>10</sup> in operibus ejus etc. Comp. Pope's *Essay on Man*, Epist. i. 9:

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,  
Whose body nature is, and God the soul;  
That changed through all, and yet in all  
the same;

Great in the earth as in the ethereal frame,  
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,  
Glow in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,  
Lives through all life, extends through all  
extent,

Spreads undivided, operates unspent, &c.

<sup>11</sup> sub oculis tamen non venit ven-

tus. Lactantius, *Div. Inst. Lib. vii. cap. ix. § 2*, has borrowed from our author: ne quis ex eo ipso putaret Deum non esse, quia mortalibus oculis non videretur, inter cetera institutorum miracula fecit etiam multa, quorum vis quidem appareat, substantia tamen non videtur, sicut est vox, odor, ventus, ut harum rerum argumento et exemplo etiam Deum, licet sub oculos non veniret, de sua tamen vi et effectu et operibus cerneremus: Comp. S. John iii. 8.

<sup>12</sup> in sole adeo videre non possumus, "in the full light of sun, moreover, we are unable to see." Comp. Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* i. § 5, p. 13: εἰ γὰρ τῷ οὐλίᾳ διαχίστη

oculis carnalibus vis videre, quum ipsam animam c. XXXII.  
tuam, qua vivificaris et loqueris, nec aspicere pos-  
sis <sup>13</sup>nec tenere.

7   <sup>14</sup>Sed enim Deus actum hominis ignorat, et in <sup>You deny  
cœlo constitutus non potest aut omnes obire aut  
singulos nosse. Erras o homo et falleris; unde enim  
Deus longe est, quum omnia cœlestia terrenaque  
et quæ extra istam orbis provinciam sunt, Deo  
cognita, plena sint? ubique non tantum nobis</sup>  
8 proximus sed infusus est. In solem adeo rursus  
intende: cœlo adfixus, sed terris omnibus sparsus  
est: pariter præsens ubique interest et miscetur  
9 omnibus: nusquam enim claritudo violatur. Quanto  
magis Deus auctor omnium ac <sup>15</sup>speculator om-  
nium, a quo nullum potest esse secretum, tenebris  
interest, <sup>16</sup>interest cogitationibus nostris, quasi alte-  
ris tenebris? Non tantum sub illo agimus, sed et  
<sup>17</sup>cum illo, prope dixerim, vivimus.

<sup>God's cogni-  
tance of our  
actions: be-  
cause you  
think it an  
impossibility  
that, placed  
in heaven, he  
should know  
all and every-  
thing. But  
God diffuses  
his presence  
over all  
things, just as  
the Sun,  
though itself  
stationary,  
diffuses its  
light over all  
the earth:  
neither dis-  
tance nor  
secrecy can  
place any-  
thing out of  
the reach of  
His power  
and know-  
ledge.</sup>

ὅντι στοιχείῳ οὐ δύναται ἀνθρωπος  
ἀτενίσαι διά τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν  
θέρμην καὶ δύναμιν, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλ-  
λον τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ δόξῃ ἀνεκφράστῳ  
οὐσῃ ἀνθρώπος θυητὸς οὐ δύναται  
ἀνταπῆσαι κ.τ.λ. Xenophon, Me-  
morab. Lib. iv. c. x. has a parallel  
passage. Comp. also Cicero, Tusc.  
Disp. i. 22.

<sup>18</sup> nec tenere, [sc. manu. J. GR.]

<sup>14</sup> sed enim Deus actum hominis  
ignorat. See ch. x. § 6.

Unde enim Deus longe est etc. Cf.  
Acts xvii. 28: τὸν Κύριον οὐ μακρὰν  
ἀπὸ ἐνδέ εἰκάστον ἡμῶν ὑπάρχοντα·  
Ps. xciii. 11; Jerem. xxiii. 23.

<sup>15</sup> speculator omnium. Ut Pru-  
dentius hymno matutino sub finem:

Speculator astatat desper  
Qui nos diebus omnibus  
Actusque nostros prospicit  
A luce prima in vesperum.

#### CELLARIUS.

Cf. Lactantius, Lib. vi. cap. xviii.  
§ 12: sed et maximus et æquissimus  
judex, speculator ac testis omnium.

<sup>16</sup> interest cogitationibus. Comp.  
Senec. Epist. lxxxiv. Psalm xxxix.  
13, 14, cxxxix. 1—12; Hebr. iv. 13:  
οὐκ ἔστι κτίσις ἀφανῆς ἐνώπιον αὐ-  
τοῦ, πάντα δὲ γυμνά καὶ τετραχη-  
λισμένα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ:  
Athenag. Suppl. pro Chr. p. 39.

<sup>17</sup> cum illo vivimus. Acts xvii.  
28: ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα  
καὶ ἐσμέν.

**XXXIII.** Nec nobis <sup>1</sup>de nostra frequentia blandiamur: multi nobis videmur, sed Deo admodum pauci sumus. Nos gentes nationesque distinguimus: <sup>2</sup>Deo una domus est mundus hic totus. <sup>3</sup>Reges <sup>2</sup>tantum regni sui per officia ministrorum universa novere: Deo <sup>4</sup>indiciis opus non est: non solum <sup>3</sup>in oculis ejus, sed et in sinu vivimus.

You appeal to the present condition of the Jews, as a comment on the inutility of serving one God. But your premises are disproved at once by their past history.

Sed Judæis nihil profuit, quod unum et ipsi Deum aris atque templis maxima superstitione coluerunt. Ignorantia laberis, <sup>5</sup>si priorum aut oblitus aut inscius posteriorum recordaris. Nam et ipsi <sup>4</sup>Deum nostrum (idem enim omnium Deus est) <sup>6</sup>quamdiu <sup>\*enim\*</sup> eum caste, innoxie religioseque coluerunt, quamdiu præceptis salubribus obtemperaverunt, de paucis innumeri facti, de egentibus divites, de servientibus reges: <sup>7</sup>modici multos, inermi

Ch. XXXIII. <sup>1</sup> *de nostra frequentia etc.* "let us not amuse ourselves with the fond hope of impunity because of our numbers." To wipe away the objection advanced in Ch. x. 5, 6, thus expressed by Juvenal, *Sat.* xiii. 101:

Si curant igitur cunctos punire nocentes  
Quando ad me venient?

<sup>2</sup> *Deo una domus.* Lactantius has copied this in the *Instit. Div.* iv. 28. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *reges tantum universa regni etc.* "it is only earthly monarchs indeed that are acquainted with all that goes on in their dominions by the ministration of inferior officers." *Universa regni sui* for "res" or "loca regni sui universa."

<sup>4</sup> *indiciis*, i. q. *indicibus*: abstr. for concrete, cf. Lactantius *de*

*Mortib. Persec.* c. viii. § 4.

<sup>5</sup> si, i. q. siquidem.

<sup>6</sup> *quamdiu enim eum.* Such is the reading of the MS. Most editors have cancelled both the latter words: though *eum* certainly cannot be objected to, since nothing is of more ordinary occurrence than such an insertion of this pronoun after a parenthesis. Lindner places a full stop after *Deus est*, making *Deus* depend on *coluerunt*, understood from the preceding *coluerunt*. For the argument, comp. Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. xxi.

<sup>7</sup> *modici multos ..... obruerunt*, "a handful overwhelmed multitudes, the unarmed an armed host, as they pursued them in their flight, the very elements at the command of God fighting on their side."

armatos, dum fugiunt insequentes, Dei jussu et xxxiv.  
 5 elementis adnitentibus obruerunt. Scripta eorum  
 relege, <sup>8</sup> vel si Romanis magis gaudes, ut transea-  
 mus veteres, Flavii Josephi vel Antonini Juliani de  
 Judæis require: jam scies nequitia sua hanc eos  
 meruisse fortunam; nec quidquam accidisse, quod  
 non sit his, si in contumacia perseverarent, ante  
 6 prædictum. Ita prius eos deseruisse comprehendes,  
 quam esse desertos: nec, ut <sup>9</sup> impie loqueris, cum  
 Deo suo esse captos, sed a Deo, ut disciplinæ  
 transfugas, deditos.

Ceterum <sup>1</sup>de incendio mundi aut improvisum  
 ignem cadere aut difficile non credere vulga-  
 ris erroris est. Quis enim sapientium dubitat,  
 quis ignorat, omnia quæ órta sunt occidere; quæ  
 2 facta sunt interire? cœlum quoque cum omnibus,

Further, your  
 disbelief in  
 the future  
 destruction  
 of the Uni-  
 verse by fire  
 is a mere vul-  
 gar error;  
 not favoured  
 or sanction-  
 ed but con-

See *Judges*, ch. vii; *Joshua*, ch. x.  
 v. 11.

<sup>8</sup> vel si Romanis magis gau-  
 des Flavii Josephi. "The MS. has  
*Flavi Josephi*; and it appears, that  
 the words *Antonini Juliani* had been  
 originally written, although they are  
 effaced, and others substituted in  
 their room, (sc. *Antonii Juliani*).  
 It is difficult to account for the  
 mention here made of Josephus as  
 of a *Roman writer*: for he was a  
 Jew and wrote in Greek. Davies  
 ingeniously conjectures that *Anto-  
 nini Juliani* were the original words;  
 and that an ignorant and officious  
 transcriber changed them into *Flavii  
 Josephi*, as into a name better  
 known. Lindnerus boldly transposes  
 the words and reads, *Scripta eorum  
 relege: ut transeamus veteres, vel*

(i. e. tantum) *Flavii Josephi; vel, si  
 Romanis magis gaudes, Antonini  
 Juliani, de Judæis require.*" HAILES.

*Antonini Juliani*. Nothing is known  
 of this writer or of his writings.  
 Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. med. et inf.*  
*ætat. ix.* p. 598, conjectures that he  
 is the same with the governor (*pro-  
 curator*) of Judæa, in the time of the  
 capture of Jerusalem by Titus, and  
 perhaps the orator of the same  
 name spoken of by A. Gellius, *Noct.*  
*Attic. i. 3.*

<sup>9</sup> *impie loqueris*, in allusion to ch.  
 x. § 4.

Ch. XXXIV. <sup>1</sup> *de incendio  
 mundi etc.* The construction is:  
*Vulgaris erroris est credere impro-  
 visum ignem non cadere aut id esse  
 difficile*, sc. Deo.

**XXXIV.** quæ cœlo continentur, ita <sup>3</sup>ut cœpisse, desinere.  
 tradictas by  
of your own  
philosophers,  
though they  
had only  
partial glimpse  
of the  
truth, which  
indeed they  
owed to our  
doctrines and  
scriptures.

<sup>3</sup>Fontium dulci aquas marisve nutriri in vim ignis abitum, Stoicis constans opinio est, quod consumpto humore mundus hic omnis ignescat: et <sup>4</sup>Epicureis de elementorum conflagratione et mundi ruina eadem ipsa sententia est. <sup>5</sup>Loquitur Plato: 3 partes orbis nunc inundare dicit, nunc alternis vicibus ardescere et quum ipsum mundum perpetuum et insolubilem diceret esse fabricatum, addit tamen,

<sup>3</sup> ut cœpisse. Cf. § 8, note 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Fontium dulci aquas marisve nutriri*, sc. cœlum [et aliquando] in vim etc. So Lindner. The MS. reading is *fontium dulcis aqua maria nutritre*. A nearer approximation to which may perhaps be made by reading: *desinere*; *DESINERE fontium dulces aquas maria nutritre. In vim ignis abitum*, (sc. mundum). But I am inclined to look upon the whole sentence *fontium—nutrire*, as a gloss. For an explanation of the meaning the following extract from Cicero will serve: "Sunt stellæ natura flammæ: quo circa terræ, maris, aquarum vaporibus aluntur illæ, qui a sole ex agris tepefactis et ex aquis excitantur....Ex quo eventurum nostri (sc. Stoici) putant id, de quo Panæstium addubitate dicebant; ut ad extremum omnis mundus ignesceret cum humore consumpto, neque terra ali posset neque remearet aëris, cuius ortus aqua omni exhausta esse non posset:" *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 46: and again: "Quid enim? non eisdem vobis placet omnem ignem pastus indigere? nec permanereullo modo posse, nisi alatur? ali autem solem, lunam, reliqua astra aquis alia dulcibus, alia marinis?" *ibid.* Lib. iii. c. 14. Comp.

*Lucret. de Rer. Nat.* i. 231. Zeno ap. *Diog. Laert.* vii. 1. 71, says: τρέφεσθαι τὰ δικτυα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ δίλλα δοτρα, τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ τῆς μεγαλῆς θαλάττης, τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐκ ποτίμων ὑδάτων. Comp. Philo Judæus περὶ ἀφθαρότας κόσμου, p. 940: Origen c. *Cels.* v. p. 244: Atheneagoras *Suppl. pro Christ.* cap. xv; Tatian, *or. ad Græc.* c. vi. and xxv; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii. c. 7; Arno-bius, *adv. nat.* ii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Epicureis*: Lactantius, *de Vita Beata*, cap. i. § 10: Unus igitur Epicurus, auctore Democrito, veridicus in hac re fuit, qui ait et ortuna aliquando fuisse et aliquando esse periturum: *ibid.* cap. iii. § 23. Comp. *Lucret. Lib.* v. 381, sqq.; Philo Ju-dæus περὶ ἀφθαρότας κόσμου, p. 728: Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος πολλοὺς κόσμους ὑπογράφουσι, ὃν τὴν μὲν γένεσιν ἀλληλοποιίας καὶ ἐπιπλοκαῖς ἀτόμων ἀνατιθίσας τὴν δὲ φθορὰν ἀντικοπαῖς καὶ ἀποστάσεις τῶν γεγονότων. Euseb. *Prep. Evang.* xv. 18.

*Elementorum*, h. e. "the principal parts of the universe," viz. the sun, moon, etc. Comp. Blümemann on Lactantius, *Div. Inst. Lib.* i. c. v. § 7.

<sup>5</sup> loquitur Plato. [An, *Est Epicureis de e. c. e. m. r. eadem ipsa sen-*

ipso artifici Deo soli et solubilem et esse mortale. XXXIV.  
 4 talem. Ita nihil mirum est, si ista moles <sup>6</sup>ab eo,  
 quo extorta est, destruatur. Animadvertis philosophos eadem disputare, quae dicimus, non quod nos simus eorum vestigia subsequuti, sed quod illi <sup>7</sup>de divinis prædicationibus prophetarum umbram interpolatæ veritatis imitati sint.

5 Sic etiam conditionem renascendi sapientium clariores, <sup>8</sup>Pythagoras primus et præcipuu

So again with  
respect to our  
doctrine of  
the Resurrec-

tentia et loquitur Plato. Partis etc.  
 3. gr.] The allusion is to the Timæus, p. 41 ed. Steph.: comp. Arnob. Adv. Nat. ii. 38, Philo Judæus l. c. p. 950, who thus gives the passage, where the supreme God is represented as addressing the other gods: Θεοι θεῶν, ἀνὴρ δημιουργός πατήρ τε ἥρων ἀδὲ ἐμοῦ γενόμενα ἀλυτα ἐμοῦ γέθθεοντος τὸ μὲν οὐν δὴ δεθὲν πᾶν λυτόν· τὸ γέ μὴν καλῶς ἀρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εὖ λύειν ἀθλεῖν κακοῦ διο καὶ ἀπεικετε γεγένησθε, δθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἔστε, οὐδὲ ἀλυτοι τὸ πάμταν· οὐτὶ γέ μὴν λυθήσεσθε γέ οὐδὲ τείχεοθε θανάτου μοίρας τῆς ἡμής βούλησθε μεζούος ἔτι δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριατέρου λαχόντες ἑκείνους, οἵ δὲ ἦγί γεγνεσθε συνεδεῖσθε. Comp. Athenagoras, l. c. who quotes the first part of the above passage: and Cicero de Universo who translates the whole.

Alternis vicibus: Clem. Alex. Stromm. v. p. 649, sqq.: ὃ δὲ Πλάτων τὴν γῆν χρόνοις τιστ διὰ πυρὸς καθαίρεσθαι καὶ θάνατος ἀδε πάσι φησι. Πολλαὶ κατὰ πολλὰ φθοραὶ γεγόνασιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἱστοταῖ πυρὶ μὲν καὶ θανάτῳ μέγισται, μυρίοις δὲ καὶ ἀλλοις ὕτεραι βραχύτεραις καὶ μετ' ὅληγα ἐπιφέρει. Τὸ δὲ

ἀληθὲς, ἔστι τῶν περὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ κατ' οὐρανὸν λόντων παράλλαξις καὶ διά μακρῶν χρόνων γενομένη τῶν ἔστι τῆς γῆς πυρὶ πολλῷ φθορά ἐπειτα περὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐποίεις ὅταν δὲ αὐθεοὶ γῆν θάσι καθαίρουτες κατακλύσασιν, οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς δρεσι διασώζονται βούκολοι νομεῖς· οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς παρ' ἡμῖν πόλεσιν εἰσι τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ποτάμων φέρονται.

<sup>6</sup> ab eo, quo, i. e. a quo.

<sup>7</sup> de divinis prædicationibus etc. This assertion is constantly reiterated: by Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. xlvi; *de Testim. Anim.* c. v. Comp. Justin M. *Coh. ad Gr.* 14 sqq.; *Apol.* i. 54; Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* i. 14, p. 32, ed. Humphry; Tatian or. *ad Gr.* c. 40; Clem. Alex. Stromm. i. 16, p. 336 ed. Potter; Augustin, *de Civ. Dei*, viii. 11; *de Doctr. Christ.* ii. c. 28; Theodoret, *or. c. Græc.* ii. p. 736, sqq.

*Interpolatæ*, “botched with falsehood.” Tertullian is fond of this expression. See Oehler on the *Apol.* ch. xlvi. p. 285.

<sup>8</sup> Pythagoras primus. The doctrine of metempsychosis or “transmigration of souls” is said to

**XXXIV.** <sup>9</sup>Plato, corrupta et <sup>10</sup>dimidiata fide tradiderunt; nam corporibus dissolutis, solas animas volunt et perpetuo manere et in alia nova corpora saepius commeare. Addunt istis et illa <sup>11</sup>ad retorquendam veritatem, 6 in pecudes, aves, belluas, hominum animas redire. Non philosophi sane studio, sed mimico vitio digna ista sententia est. Sed ad propositum satis est, 7 etiam in hoc sapientes vestros <sup>12</sup>in aliquem modum nobiscum consonare. Ceterum quis tam stultus 8 aut brutus est, ut audeat <sup>13</sup>repugnare hominem a Deo, <sup>14</sup>ut primum potuisse fingi, ita posse denuo

tion of the Body, it is justified by their belief in the Transmigration of Souls.  
The same doctrine further proved by the

have been borrowed from the Egyptians, (*Diodor. Sic. Bibl.* i. p. 62; *Herodotus* ii. c. 128); and the Druids, according to *Cæsar, Bell. Gall.* vi. c. 18, believed "non interire animas sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alias." Comp. *Origen c. Celsum* i. p. 16; *Tertullian Apol. c. xviii; Ambrosius, de Fid. Resurr.* ii. § 65; *Maximus Tyrius Dissert. xxviii.* Porphyrius and Maximus Tyrius, Davies observes, agree with Minucius in attributing the discovery of this doctrine to Pythagoras, but *Ciceron Tusc. Q.* i. xvi. followed by Lactantius and Augustine, ascribe it to Pherecydes.

<sup>9</sup> *Plato.* There are several passages in the *Phædrus*, *Phædo* and *Timæus* which bear upon this question, besides that in the *Repub.* x. p. 620, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων δὴ θηρίων ὥστε εἰς αὐθιώποντος λέγει καὶ εἰς ἀλητὰ τὰ μὲν ἀδικα εἰς τὰ ἄγρια, τὰ δὲ δίκαια εἰς τὰ ἡμερα μεταβάλλοντα καὶ πάσας μῆτες μηνυοῦνται.

<sup>10</sup> *dimidiata*, "by halves, defec-tively," sc. because they taught the resurrection of the soul only and

not that of the body.

<sup>11</sup> *ad retorquendam veritatem*, "the more to ravel, or wrest and pervert the truth."

*Mimico vitio.* Ita MS. *Heraldus conj. mimi cavillo*: comp. *Prudent. Pass. S. Laur.* II. vs. 318; or *mimico otio*: comp. *Tertullian, Apolog. c. xlviij: mimi convicio*, WOWER.

<sup>12</sup> *in aliquem modum*, "up to a certain degree;" "after a certain fashion."

<sup>13</sup> *repugnare*, "to gainsay."

<sup>14</sup> *ut primum potuisse fingi etc.*, on the use of double infinitives see *Hand, Tursell.* iii. p. 472. The same argument is frequently urged by early Christian writers. *Lactantius, Div. Inst.* vii. 23, § 5, says: Si a principio Deus hominem nescio quo inenarrabili modo instituit: credamus ab eodem restitui veterem posse qui novum fecit: comp. *Tertullian, Apol. c. xlviij: Qui ergo nihil fueras priusquam esses, idem nihil factus cum esse desieris, cur non possis rursus esse de nihilo, ejusdem auctoris voluntate qui te voluit esse de nihilo: de Resurr. Carn. c. xi: Idoneus est reficere (carnem), qui*

reformari? <sup>15</sup>nihil esse post obitum et ante ortum **XXXIV.**  
 nihil fuisse: sicut de nihilo nasci licuit, ita de  
 9 nihilo licere reparari? Porro difficilius est id  
 quod non sit incipere, quam id quod fuerit ite-  
 rare. Tu perire <sup>16</sup>et Deo credis, si quid oculis  
 10 nostris hebetibus subtrahitur? <sup>17</sup>Corpus omne sive  
 arescit in pulverem, sive in humorem solvitur, vel  
 in cinerem comprimitur, vel in nidorem tenuatur,  
 subducitur nobis: sed Deo elementorum custodia  
 11 reservatur. <sup>18</sup>Nec, ut creditis, ullum damnum sepul-  
 turæ timemus, sed veterem et meliorem eonsue-

fecit: quanto plus est fecisse, quam  
 refecisse: initium dedisse, quam red-  
 didisse. Its restitutionem carnis fa-  
 ciliorem credas institutione. Justin  
 M. *Apol.* i. § 19; Tatian, *or. c. Gr.*  
 cap. vi; Theophilus *ad Autolyc.* i.  
 8; Athenag. *de Resurr.* c. 3 and 15;  
 Prudent. *adv. Symmach.* ii. 194; *Con-  
 stitut. Apost.* v. 7, § 43, p. 308.

<sup>15</sup>nihil esse post obitum etc. "that man is just such a nonentity after this life as he was before it." Dupin's (*Eccles. Hist.* l. p. 119) fancy that he can detect a tendency to materialism in our author arose from an obvious misapprehension of this passage. 'The nihil,' as Reeves remarks, 'is here used in the signification and upon the same subject as it is used by Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 48 (vide not. 14), and is to be understood according to the vulgar, who concluded nothing to exist, that was not visible.'

<sup>16</sup>et Deo perire, "is lost also to God." Comp. Athenagoras, *de Resurr.* cc. 2, 8, p. 43. δλλ' οὐτε δύ-  
 νοιν τὸν Θεὸν δυνατὸν τὸν δι-  
 στησομένων σωμάτων τὴν φύσιν  
 κατά τε μέρος δλον καὶ μόριον,

οὐτε μὴν ὅποι χωρεῖ τῶν λυομένων  
 ἔκαστον καὶ ποίον τοῦ στοιχείου  
 μέρος δέδεκται τὸ λυθὲν, καὶ χωρῆ-  
 σαν τρόπος τὸ συγγενὲς κάν τάν  
 παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἀδιάκριτον εἶναι  
 δοκῆ, τὸ τῷ πάντῃ πάλιν προσφυῖς  
 ήμωμένον.

<sup>17</sup>corpus omne, "every part of the body." To the same purpose, Tatian, *or. c. Gr.* § 6, ed. Otto, in a characteristic passage: κάν τῷρ  
 ἔξαφανση μον τὸ σαρκίον, ἔξατμι-  
 σθείσαν τὴν ὑλὴν ὁ κόστρος κεχό-  
 ρηκεν· κάν ἐν ποταμοῖς κάν ἐν  
 θαλατταῖς ἐκδατανθῶ, ταμελοῖς ἐναπό-  
 κειμαι πλούσιον δεσπότον.

*In cinerem comprimitur*, "is crum-  
 bled to ashes."

*In nidorem tenuatur*, "is rarefied  
 into smoke."

[*Subducitur nobis*, nempe ut di-  
 camus οὐκ εἶναι, Soph. O. C. 446,  
*Ajac.* 990. J. GR.]

<sup>18</sup>nec damnum sepulturæ time-  
 mus, "h. e. ex ignium sepultura;"  
 vide ch. xi. 8. The care which the  
 primitive Christians shewed to their  
 dead is noticed by Julian the Apo-  
 state in writing to an idolatrous high

**XXXIV.** tudenem humandi frequentamus. <sup>1</sup> Vide adeo, quam 12 analogies, which are scattered over the whole field of Nature.

in solarium nostri <sup>19</sup> resurrectionem futuram omnis natura meditetur? <sup>20</sup> Sol demergit et nascitur; astra labuntur et redeunt: flores occidunt et reviviscunt: post senium arbusta frondescunt, <sup>21</sup> semina non nisi corrupta revirescunt: <sup>22</sup> ita corpus in seculo, ut arbores in hiberno occultant viorem ariditatem mentita. Quid festinas, ut cruda adhuc 13 hieme reviviscat et redeat? expectandum nobis etiam corporis ver est.

Most men, from a consciousness of their deserts,

Nec ignoro, plerosque, conscientia meritorum 14 nihil se esse post mortem magis optare, quam cre-

priest: *Epist. 49 ad Arsac.* Comp. Lactant. *Div. Inst.* vi. 12. 27: Origin c. *Cels.* l. viii. p. 397: Augustine, *de C. D.* i. co. 12, 13. On the antiquity of the practice of inhumation, see the testimony of Cicero, *de Legg.* ii. c. 25, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 54. The dictator Cornelius Sylla is said to have been the first among the Romans whose corpse was burnt: afterwards the practice prevailed very generally till the fourth century of the Christian era. Macrob. *Saturnal.* vii. 7, § 5.

<sup>19</sup> *resurrectionem futuram meditetur*, "gives preludes of, preludes to our future revival."

<sup>20</sup> *sol demergit ac nascitur*. The same emblem of a resurrection is frequently appealed to by the early Christian writers: as Theophilus *ad Autolyc.* i. c. 13; Athenag. *Legat.* p. 93; Ambrosius, *Hexaem.* Lib. v. c. 22 and c. 23; *de Fide Resurr.* Lib. ii. § 53; Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xviii, and still more eloquently in his treatise *de Resurr. Carnis*, c. xii: also Prudentius *contr. Symm.* ii. p.

414: Augustine *de C. D.* xxii. 21; Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. XL p. 376.

<sup>21</sup> *semina non nisi corrupta revirescunt*. 1 Cor. xv. 36: ἐφορούσεις οὐ καυποῖσθαι, εἰδὼν διωδάρην. Comp. also Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 48; *de Resurr. carnis*, c. xii; Clemens Rom. *Epist.* i. c. 24; Cyril iv. 30, xviii. 6, 7; Theophil. *ad Autol.* i. 8, 13, ii. c. 14.

<sup>22</sup> *ita corpus in seculo etc.* "the body in this life is as trees in winter-time, which conceal their vegetation under an unreal appearance of withering." The sentence, which is elliptical, in full would be: *ut arbores in tempore hiberno occultant viorem ariditatem mentita; ita corpus in seculo occultat vitam mortalitate mentita.* On the various significations of *seculum* some observations will be found in Woodham's *Tertullian*, p. 108, note 3.

<sup>23</sup> *mahent extingui etc.* Hieron. in *Pythag.* p. 164: οὐ βούλεται γὰρ ὁ κακὸς αθάνατος εἶναι τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ἵνα μὴ ὑπομείνῃ τι-

dere; <sup>23</sup> malunt enim extingui penitus quam ad supplicia reparari. Quorum error augetur et in sæculo libertate remissa et Dei patientia maxima; cuius <sup>24</sup> quanto judicium tardum, tanto magis justum est. xxxv.

rather wish  
that death  
may be their  
annihilation,  
than believe  
that it is  
so really; and  
that too in  
spite of the  
warnings of  
philosophers  
and poets  
with respect  
to the penal  
tortures that  
await sinners.

1 Et tamen admonentur hominum doctissimorum libris et carminibus poetarum illius <sup>1</sup> ignei fluminis et <sup>2</sup> de Stygia palude sæpius ambientis ardoris, quæ cruciatibus æternis præparata, et dæmonum indicis et <sup>3</sup> de oraculis prophetarum cognita, tradiderunt. Et ideo apud eos etiam ipse rex Jupiter per <sup>4</sup> torrentes ripas et atram voraginem jurat religiose: destinatam enim sibi cum suis cultoribus

*μερούμενος*: Clemens, *Recognit.* Lib. v. fol. 95. ELMENHORST. Vide Scriptorem *Constit. Apost.* Lib. vi. cap. 26, et Clementem, *Homil.* xi. cap. xi. p. 694, DAVIES.

<sup>24</sup> quanto tardum, h. e. quanto magis tardum, an elliptic construction, more common in Greek than Latin. See Muncker *ad Fulgent. Mythol.* l. 27, p. 62; Oehler on Tertullian *Apol.* 48. Tertullian frequently uses *tanto* without the comparative in the corresponding clause. The same sentiment occurs in Valerius Maximus, speaking of Dionysius of Syracuse: Lento gradu ad vindictam sui divina procedit ira, tarditatemque supplicii gravitate compensat. *i. i.* § 23.

Ch. XXXV. <sup>1</sup> *ignei fluminis*, sc. Pyriphlethon. Plato, *Phædo*, p. 112, quoted in Eusebius, *Prep. Evang.* c. 23; Hom. *Odyss.* x. 145; comp. Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* ii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *de Stygia palude...ardoris*, "the heat of the Stygian lake." On this use of *de* consult note on ch. xxv.

§ 3: for the allusion, Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 478, sqq.; *AEn.* vi. 439: *novies Styx interfusa coeret.*

<sup>3</sup> *de oraculis*, "out of the oracles." So above, ch. vii. § 3: *Specia de libris memoriam*. See Hand, *Turcellin.* Vol. II. p. 223. 2.

*Dæmonum indicis*, "by the confessions of demons;" such as are recorded in the Books of the New Testament.

<sup>4</sup> *torrentes ripas*, hoc est, ardentea. Virgilius, *AEn.* ix. 104:

Dixerat: idque ratum Stygi per fiumina fratris,  
Per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas  
Annuit.

LINDNER.

*Jurat religiose.* Homer. *Ili.* xiv. 271; *Odyss.* v. 185, sqq.:

καὶ τὸ κατεύθυντον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, δε τε μέγιστος  
ὅρκος δαιμόνων τε πάλαι μακίρεσσι θεοῖς  
σιν.

Comp. Virgil, *AEn.* vi. 328:

Stygiāmque paludem,  
Di cuius jurare timent et fallere numen.

C. XXXV. poenam præscius perhorrescit. Nec tormentis aut modus ullus aut terminus. Illic <sup>5</sup>sapiens ignis membra urit et reficit; carpit et nutrit, sicut ignes fulminum corpora tangunt nec absumunt: sicut ignes <sup>6</sup>Ætnæ montis et Vesui montis et ardentium ubique terrarum <sup>7</sup>flagrant nec erogantur: ita poenale illud incendium non damnis ardentium pascitur, sed <sup>8</sup>inexesa corporum laceratione nutritur. Eos 4 autem merito torqueri <sup>9</sup>qui Deum nesciunt, ut impios, ut injustos, nisi profanus nemo deliberat; quum parentem omnium et omnium dominum non minoris sceleris sit ignorare quam lædere. Et 5 quamquam imperitia Dei sufficiat ad poenam, ita ut

Apart from your ignorance of God, which is in itself sinful and merits punishment accordingly, the estimate of moral excellence amongst you will be found on compa-

<sup>5</sup> *sapiens ignis*, “the subtle fire.” Tertullian, *adv. Gnostic.* cap. iii. uses the same expression. Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* p. 35, speaks of *πῦρ σωφρονῶν*. Comp. Hieronym. in *Daniel.* c. 3, pag. 503; Paulinus, *Ep. ad Sever.* ix, p. 62, quoted by Elmanhorst.

<sup>6</sup> MS. *Hennei montis et Iesi montis*. Pro *Hennei* recte *Ætnæ*, quoniam notante Drakenborch. ad *Sil.* i. 93 haec in MS. permiscentur. *Iesi*, forte pro *Vesovi* vel *Vesui* ut æsse non apud poetas solum sed et alios, v. c. Sueton. *Tfl.* 8. Gronovius conj. *Ætnæ montes et montis Vesovi* non male sicut v. 1. LINDNER.

*Et ardentium ubique terrarum*, “and of the other volcanic lands, wherever they be.” Comp. above, ch. xiii. note 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Flagrant nec erogantur*, “burn, and yet are not exhausted with burning,” comp. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xlviij. and xli. On the various uses of *erogare* consult Woodham’s note on Tertullian, *Apol.* p. 146.

<sup>8</sup> *inexesa corporum laceratione*, for *inexesorum corporum laceratione*. Comp. xvi. note 2: xxxvi. note 11.

<sup>9</sup> *qui Deum nesciunt*, sc. “the Gentiles,” ch. xxxvii. § 6.

*Deliberat*, “hesitates to believe.”

<sup>10</sup> *quamvis in nonnullis disciplina nostra minor est*, “however defective we are in some particulars of practice.” HALES. Rather, “however much in the case of some the strict observance of our school is found wanting.” [Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 46 fin.: sed dicet aliquis etiam de nostris excedere quosdam a regula discipline. Desinunt tamen Christiani haberi penes nos, philosophi vero illi cum talibus factis in nomine et honore sapientie perseverant. *J. Gr.*] See also, *Apol.* c. xliv; *Athenag.* *Suppl.* § 2; Justin M. *Apol.* i. § 44.

<sup>11</sup> *et facitis*. See above, ch. xii. note 2.

<sup>12</sup> *viri nascimur etc.* “are born to be husbands to none but our own wives.” Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 46: *Christianus uxori sua soli masculus*

notitia prosit ad veniam; tamen si vobiscum Christiani comparemur,<sup>10</sup> quamvis in nonnullis disciplina nostra minor est, multo tamen vobis meliores de-  
6 prehendemur. Vos enim adulteria prohibetis<sup>11</sup> et  
facitis; nos uxoribus nostris solummodo<sup>12</sup> viri nas-  
cimur: vos scelera admissa punitis,<sup>13</sup> apud nos et  
cogitare peccare est: vos conscientiam solam,<sup>14</sup> sine qua esse non pos-  
7 sumus. Denique de vestro numero<sup>15</sup> carcer exæstua-  
tus: Christianus ibi nullus, nisi aut reus suæ reli-  
gionis aut<sup>16</sup> profugus.

<sup>1</sup>Nec de fato quisquam aut solatium captet The plea of fatalism for misdeeds re-  
aut excusat. <sup>2</sup>Eventum sit sortis fortunæ, mens

nascitur.

<sup>13</sup> apud nos et cogitare peccare est. Non dissimilem sententiam tulerunt sapientiores Ethnici. Seneca de Const. Sap. cap. 7: Omnia scelera etiam ante effectum operis, quantum culpes satis est, perfecta sunt. Juvenalis, Sat. xiii. v. 209:

Nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ultimum  
Facti crimen habet.

Maximus Tyrius, Dissert. ii. Immo legibus etiam Romanis non facti solum sed et voluntatis pena puniebatur. Adi Jac. Cujacium. Observat. Lib. xv. cap. 25. DAVIES.

<sup>14</sup> sine qua esse non possumus. Seneca ap. Lactant. D. I. vi. 24. 17: Quid tibi prodest non habere conscientium, habenti conscientiam?

<sup>15</sup> carcer exæstuat. Tertullian, ibid. c. 44: de vestris semper exæstuat carcer, de vestris semper metalla suspirant, de vestris semper bestiae saginantur. Nemo illic Christianus nisi plane tantum Christianus aut, si et aliud, jam non Christianus:

Id. ad Scap. c. 2; Lactant. v. 9, § 15.  
Cf. Kortholt Pag. Obtr. Lib. 3. a.  
12, n. 7.

<sup>16</sup> profugus, "a renegade from his faith," for if guilty, that alone proves that he must have apostatised and relapsed into heathenism.

Ch. XXXVI. <sup>1</sup> nec de fato solatium captet aut excusat, sc. fatum, "and let no one snatch at comfort from destiny or plead it in excuse." Cæcilius, it will be remembered, made incidental mention of the doctrine of fate excluding divine Providence, in ch. xi. § 6.

<sup>2</sup> eventum sit sortis fortunæ. Sortis fortunæ genethliacorum verbum. Scaliger ad Manilli verba Lib. III. v. 75: Horum operum sortes ad singula signa locavit.

ita adnotat: In genitura primus locus datur horoscopo: in actionibus, sorti fortunæ, qui est veluti actionum quidam horoscopus. CELLA RIUS. On the doctrine of genethliacal fate, see Lord Herbert, de Religione gentilium, c. ix. p. 63.

**xxxvi** tamen libera est: et ideo actus hominis, <sup>3</sup>non dignitas judicatur. <sup>4</sup>Quid enim aliud est fatum, <sup>2</sup>quam quod de unoquoque nostrum Deus fatus est? qui quum possit præscire <sup>5</sup>materiam, pro meritis et qualitatibus singulorum etiam fata determinat. Ita <sup>3</sup>in nobis non <sup>6</sup>genitura plectitur, sed ingenii natura punitur. Ac de fato satis, vel si pauca pro tempore, disputatur alias et <sup>7</sup>verius et plenius.

The poverty of most of us is our glory, not our shame. For we regard riches as an encumbrance in our earthly pilgrimage, and therefore despise rather than covet them.

Ceterum quod plerique pauperes dicimur, non <sup>4</sup>est infamia nostra, sed gloria: animus enim ut luxus solvitur, ita frugalitate firmatur. Et tamen <sup>8</sup>quis <sup>5</sup>potest pauper esse, qui non eget, qui non inhiat alieno, qui Deo dives est? magis pauper ille est qui quum multa habeat, plura desiderat. Dicam tamen, quemadmodum sentio: <sup>9</sup>nemo tam pauper potest esse, quam natus est. Aves sine patrimonio

<sup>3</sup> non dignitas judicatur. Non capio, quid hoc faciat dignitas. Noster adversus astrologos disputat, qui pro variis Planetarum adspectibus et conjunctionibus fata nascentium definita fuisse statuerunt. Repono non nativitas judicatur. Paullo post: in nobis non genitura plectitur, sed ingenii natura punitur. Vide Petri Fabri Semestr. Lib. III. cap. 23. DAVIES.

<sup>4</sup> quid enim aliud est fatum. Isidor. Orig. Lib. viii. c. 2: fatum dicunt esse quod Dii fantur vel quod Jupiter fatur. Vid. Augustinus de Civ. Dei, Lib. v. cap. 9; ordinem causarum ubi voluntas Dei plurimum potest neque negamus neque fati vocabulo nuncupamus: nisi forte fatum ut a fando dictum intelligamus, id est a loquendo. ELMENHORST.

<sup>5</sup> materiam, "the particular temper." Quintilian has a similar usage of the word, *Inst. Orat.* ii. 9. 12.

<sup>6</sup> genitura, "the circumstances or ascendant of our nativity."

<sup>7</sup> verius, "more completely." See note on ch. xix, § 1. The MS. reads *ecuerius*, i.e. *et verius*, and not, as editors suppose, *et uberiorius*.

*Alias.* See the remarks of Baldwin. *Dissertat.* c. ix, x. p. 19, 11.

<sup>8</sup> quis potest pauper esse etc. Comp. Valer. Maxim. Lib. iv. c. 4: omnia habet qui nihil concupiscit, eo quidem certius quam qui cuncta concupiscit. Comp. Claudian in *Rufin.* L. 200;

Semper inope, quicunque capit.

Sir Henry Wotton, *The Character of a Happy Life*:

Lord of himself, though not of lands,  
And having nothing, yet hath all.

vivunt et in diem pecua pascuntur: et hæc nobis XXXVI.  
 tamen nata sunt: quæ omnia si non concupiscimus,  
 6 possidemus. Igitur ut qui viam terit, eo felicior  
 quo levior incedit: ita beatior <sup>10</sup>in hoc itinere  
 vivendi qui paupertate se sublevat, non sub divi-  
 7 tiarum onere suspirat. Et tamen facultates si  
 utiles putaremus, a Deo posceremus; utique indul-  
 gere posset aliquantum, cuius est totum: sed nos  
 contemnere malumus opes quam continere: inno-  
 centiam magis cupimus, magis patientiam flagita-  
 mus: malumus nos bonos esse quam prodigos.

Et quod <sup>11</sup>corporis humana vitia sentimus We repine  
not at crosses  
and trials,  
but count  
them as a  
part of our  
appointed  
discipline,  
and a sign of  
the regard  
and love of  
 8 et patimur, <sup>12</sup>non est poena; militia est. Forti-  
 tudo enim infirmitatibus roboratur et <sup>13</sup>calamitas  
 sœpius disciplina virtutis est: vires denique et  
 mentis et corporis sine laboris exercitatione tor-

<sup>9</sup> nemo tam pauper potest esse quam natus est. Ex Seneca de Pro-  
 vident. cap. vi: nemo tam pauper vivit, quam natus est. WOWER.  
 Comp. 1 Timoth. c. vi. 7: οὐδὲν εἰ-  
 σπηνόγκαμεν ἐς τὸν κοσμὸν· δῆλον  
 θτι οὐδὲ ἀξενεγκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα.

Aves vivunt. Matth. vi. 7; 2 Cor.  
 vi. 10.

<sup>10</sup> in hoc itinere vivendi. Laco-  
 tantius has carried out the compari-  
 son more fully: Div. Inst. vii. 1.  
 § 20, sqq. Quo levior incedit, i. e.  
 expeditior, "the less encumbered  
 he is, the more happily he proceeds  
 on his journey."

<sup>11</sup> corporis humana vitia. Idem  
 valet ac corporis humani vitia.  
 Lucretius, Lib. ii. p. 209:

Melibeaque fulgens  
 Purpura, Thessalico concharum tincta cru-  
 ore,

hoc est, Thessalicarum con-  
 charum crux. Propertius, Lib.  
 iv. Eleg. viii. 23:

armillato colla Molossa canes.  
 Statius, in Epithal. Stell. et Violant.  
 vs. 191:

Imperi Latiale caput.

DAVIES.

Comp. ch. xxxv. note 8.

<sup>12</sup> non est poena, militia est. Se-  
 neca de Provid. c. iv: verberat nod  
 et lacerat fortuna; patiamur: non  
 est sœvitia, certamen est. Et cap.  
 ii: Bonus vir omnia adversa exer-  
 citationes putat. CELLARIUS. Comp.  
 Sirach. ii. 4, 5; Hebr. xii. 5 foll.; 2  
 Tim. ii. 8.

<sup>13</sup> calamitas virtutis disciplina  
 est. Seneca, ibid. a. iv: calamitas  
 virtutis occasio est. Nam marces-  
 sine adversario virtus, quod eodem  
 libro cap. ii. dictum est. CELLARIUS.

**XXXVII.** pescunt: omnes adeo vestri viri fortes quos in exemplum prædicatis, ærumnis suis incliti floruerunt: Itaque et nobis Deus <sup>14</sup>nec non potest subvenire <sup>9</sup> nec despicit: quum sit et omnium rector et amator suorum: sed in adversis unumquemque explorat et examinat, ingenium singulorum periculis pensitat, usque ad extremam mortem <sup>15</sup> voluntatem hominis sciscitatur, nihil sibi posse perire securus. Itaque <sup>16</sup>ut aurum ignibus, sic nos discriminibus arguimur. <sup>1</sup>Quam pulchrum spectaculum Deo, quum, <sup>1</sup> Christianus cum dolore congreditur! quum adversum minas et supplicia et tormenta componitur! quum strepitum mortis et horrorem carnificis <sup>2</sup>irripiens inculcat! quum libertatem suam adver-

<sup>14</sup> nec non potest etc. i. e. nec non (h. e. utique) potest subvenire nec (i. e. et non) despicit (i. e. recusat). Proverbe iii. 11. Translate: "God, as he is not unable to help us, so neither does he esteem us unworthy of his regard."

<sup>15</sup> usque ad extremam mortem, i. e. mortis periculum extremum. *Æn.* ii. 447. LINDNER.

<sup>16</sup> ut aurum ignibus. Psalm. cxxix. v. 1—4.

<sup>1</sup> ut aurum ignibus. Sirach. ii. 5: Chrysostom, in 2 Ep. ad Corinth. o. xii.: Hom. 26: ὅτερ γάρ τῷ χρυσῷ τὸ πῦρ, τοῦτο ηθλίψις, τὸν δύοντον ἀποσμήχουσα, καθαρὸν ἐργαζομένη, λαμπρὸς κατασκευδόντα καὶ φαιδρούς: S. James, c. i. 12: 1 Peter i. 7: τὸ δοκιμίον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολὺ τιμιώτερον χρυσίον δοκιμάζομένου: Proverbe xvii. 3: ὅτερ δοκιμάζεται ἐν καρίνῳ ἀργυρος καὶ χρυσός, οὗτος ἀκλεκταὶ καρδίαι παρὰ Κυρίῳ.

Ch. XXXVII. <sup>1</sup> quam pulchrum spectaculum Deo, etc. A parody of the noted passage in Seneca, *de Prov.* c. ii.: "ecce spectaculum dignum, ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo Deus: ecce par Deo dignum, vir fortis cum mala fortuna compositus." Seneca adds, "utique si et provocavit." This is Stoic declamation, which overdoes every moral and religious sentiment. It was not enough for the *vir fortis*, the Stoic wise man, to be matched (*compositus*) with adverse fortune: to complete the dignity of his character he must needs challenge her to combat. It is remarkable that Minucius terminates his period just as Seneca does; "cum ipai, qui adversum se sententiam dicit, insultat." This may resemble the wise man of the Stoics: but how little does it resemble him, who left us a pattern, that we might follow its traces! 1 Pet. ii. 21: ὑμῖν ἔπολιμ-

sus reges et principes erigit, soli Deo, cuius est, xxxvii.  
 cedit! quum triumphator et victor ipsi, qui ad-  
 versum se sententiam dixit, insultat! Vicit enim  
 2 qui quod contendit obtinuit. Quis non miles sub  
 oculis imperatoris audacius periculum provocet?  
 3 nemo enim præmium percipit ante experimentum:  
 et imperator tamen quod non habet non dat: non  
 potest <sup>4</sup>propagare vitam, potest honestare militiam.  
 At enim Dei miles nec in dolore deseritur nec  
 morte finitur. Sic Christianus <sup>5</sup>miser videri potest,  
 3 non potest inveniri. Vos ipsi calamitosos viros  
 fertis ad cœlum, Mucium Scævolam, qui, quum  
<sup>6</sup>errasset in regem, periisset in hostibus, nisi dex-  
 teram perdidisset. Et quot ex nostris <sup>7</sup>non dex-

You your-  
 selves pay  
 reverence to  
 heroic mar-  
 tyrs: but  
 what is their  
 heroism by  
 the side of  
 that of our

πάνων ὑπέγραμον, ἵνα ἐπακολου-  
 θήσητε τοῖς ἱγνεσιν αὐτοῦ. HAILES.  
 Comp. Lactant. de Mort. Persecut.  
 c. xvi. § 6; A. Gellius, N. A. xii. 5:  
 and on the sense of *componere*, see  
 ch. xxii. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *irripiens inculcat*. Recentiores  
 ediderunt, *irridens insultat*: nos au-  
 tem MS. lectionem representandam  
 censuimus, licet ea non usquequaque  
 sana videatur. Levi mutatione re-  
 scriperim, *arripiens inculcat*. Re-  
 spicit, ut credo, Minucius ad ex-  
 empla Martyrum, qui moras urgere  
 carnificis et bestias ad se trahere con-  
 sueverunt. Vide J. B. Cotelerium  
 in Ignatii Epist. ad Rom. c. v. DA-  
 VIES. Igitur *arripere* verbum in-  
 terpretandum est per: lubenter  
 arripere nec differre occasio-  
 nem. Verbum *inculcare* pro con-  
 culecare in usu fuisse docent loci  
 Tertullian. *adv. Nat.* i. 10, et de  
*Pænit.* c. vii; cf. etiam Cyprian. *ad*  
*Demetrian.* p. 185 ed. Oxon. Adde

supra c. xxiv. 1. OEHLER.

<sup>9</sup> *nemo præmium percipit ante ex-*  
*perimentum.* 2 Tim. ii. 5: ἐὰν δὲ  
 καὶ ἀθλῆ τις, οὐ στεφανοῦται ἐάν  
 μὴ νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ.

<sup>4</sup> *propagare vitam*, “to prolong  
 life.” So Lactantius, *D. I.* ii. xii.  
 21; Cicero, *de Fin.* v. ii; Philoctetes  
 propagabat vitam: *Epist. ad Div.*  
 v. 16; *propagatio miserimi tem-*  
*poris: ad Attic.* v. 17, viii. 3.

*Honestare*, “to decorate with re-  
 wards.”

<sup>5</sup> *miser videri potest.* From Se-  
 necca, *I. c.* ch. iii.

<sup>6</sup> *errasset in regem.* Comp. above,  
 ch. xxxi. § 3. For the allusion, see  
 Livy, ii. c. 12. foll.; Lactantius, *D. I.*  
 v. xiii. § 13; Valer. Maxim. iii. 3;  
 Martial, *Epigr.* i. 22, which Minu-  
 cius probably had in view.

<sup>7</sup> *non dexteram solum.* The Ro-  
 mans used to represent in the arena  
 the story of Mucius Scævola; the  
 person who performed the principal

**XXXVII.** teram solum, sed totum corpus uri, cremari, sine ullis ejulatibus pertulerunt, quum dimitti præsertim haberent in sua potestate? Viros cum Mucio vel <sup>4</sup> cum <sup>8</sup> Aquilio aut <sup>9</sup> Regulo comparo? Pueri et mulierculæ nostræ cruces et tormenta, feras et omnes suppliciorum terriculas <sup>10</sup> inspirata patientia doloris illudunt. Nec intelligitis, o miseri, nem5 esse, qui aut sine ratione velit pœnam subire, aut tormenta sine Deo possit sustinere.

You are but deceived with false and illusory appearances, when you argue that in spite of their ignorance of God men enjoy the great-

Nisi forte vos decipit, quod Deum nescientes <sup>6</sup> divitiis adfluant, honoribus florent, polleant potestatis. Miseri <sup>11</sup> in hoc altius tolluntur, ut decidant altius. Hi enim ut victimæ ad supplicium saginantur: ut hostiæ ad pœnam <sup>12</sup> coronantur. <sup>13</sup> In hoc adeo <sup>7</sup>

part being a condemned criminal, usually a Christian, who was forced to place his hand, in imitation of the real hero, on a pan of burning coals. Allusion is made to the practice in the well-known epigram of Martial, x. 25:

In matutina nuper spectatus arena  
Mucius imposuit qui sua membra focis:  
Si patients forisque tibi durusque videtur,  
Abderitanæ pectora plebis habea.

Nam cum dicatur tunica presente molesta,  
Ure manum: plus est dicere, Non facio.

See F. M. *Notes on the Gospels*, Vol. I. p. 62.

<sup>8</sup> *Aquilius*. Probably *Manius Aquilius*, insulted and tormented by Mithridates, who, as Appian tells the story, ἐλὼν δεδεμένον ἐπὶ δύο περιήγητο κηρύσσοντα τοῖς δρῶσιν θτι Μάνιος εἶη μέχρις ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ κατέχόντις χρυσίον, δωροδοκίαν ἔμα 'Ρωμαίοις διελθίων: *de Bello Mithrid.* p. 316. Comp. Cio. *pro leg. Manil.* c. v. § 11; Arnobius, *adv.*

*Nat.* i. 40; *Plin. N. H.* xxxiii. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Regulo*. Ch. xxvi. § 1.

<sup>10</sup> *inspirata patientia*. Lactantius has copied this expression, *D. I.* v. xiii. 12. *Terriculae*, i. q. terriculamenta, "bugbears." So Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* c. xvi. § 7. For the truth of the statement see Neander, *Ch. Hist.* I. p. 157, sqq.

<sup>11</sup> *in hoc*, i.e. "to this end."

*Altius tolluntur etc.* Comp. *Psalm* lxxiii. v. 18—20; Claudian in *Rufin.* I. 22, 23:

sane non ad culmina rerum  
Injustos crevisse queror: tolluntur in altum,  
Ut laepu graviore ruant.

Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 106; Menander:

επαρπεται γαρ μαῖζον ἵνα μεῖζον πέσῃ:  
also Shakespere, *K. Richard III.*,  
Act iv. Sc. iv.:

One heaved a high, to be hurled down below.

[Heinsius, *ad Ped. Eleg. de morte Dr. iii. 7. GR.*]

quidam imperiis ac dominationibus eriguntur, ut **XXXVII.**  
 ingenium eorum perditæ mentis licentiaæ potestatis  
 libere nundinentur. Absque enim notitia Dei quæ  
 potest esse solida felicitas, quum mors sit? somnio  
 8 similis, antequam tenetur, elabitur. Rex es:<sup>14</sup> at tam  
 times quam timeris, et quamlibet sis multo comi-  
 9 tatu stipatus, ad periculum tamen solus es. Dives  
 es: sed fortunæ male creditur, et magno viatico  
 10 breve vitæ iter non instruitur, sed oneratur. Fas-  
 cibus et purpuris gloriaris: vanus error hominis  
 et <sup>est prosperity, rank, and power.</sup>  
 15 inanis cultus dignitatis fulgere purpura, mente  
 sordescere. Nobilitate generosus es: parentes tuos  
 laudas: omnes tamen pari sorte nascimur, sola vir-  
 tute distinguimur.

<sup>12</sup> *coronantur.* The custom of crowning the animals, destined for sacrifice, with garlands is well known. See Juvenal, *Sat.* xiii. 63; *Acts* xiv. 13, where ταῦροι and στέμ-  
 ματα are mentioned together: Vir-  
 gil, *AEn.* ii. 133.

*Saginantur.* Comp. *S. James* v.  
 5: ἔθράψατε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὅτε  
 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σφαγῆς.

<sup>13</sup> *in hoc adeo imperiis etc.* "To no other end, in fact, are some borne on the shoulders of dominion and authority, but that being profligate in mind, they may without restraint sell themselves to the unbridled exercise of power committed to them." This seems to be the most satisfactory way of taking this passage, if we retain the MS. reading. We might also make *licentia* govern *perditæ mentis*, in apposition with *potestatis*. Comp. Juv. *Satir.* iv. 71. Others, rejecting altogether the words *ingenium eorum*, read *perditæ*

*mentes licentiaæ*, which they interpret of the Roman soldiers and *potestates* of the Roman empire, and they suppose that Minucius alludes to the murder of Pertinax and to the sale of the empire when Julian was preferred as the highest bidder. Others again, *pergitæ mentes*, "their profligate favourites." Neither of these interpretations appears to me to suit the context.

*absque notitia Dei, etc.* "without the knowledge of God, what real happiness can there be, since such happiness is death? like a dream, it eludes our grasp." Others translate, "since there is such a thing as death."

<sup>14</sup> *at tam times quam timeris.* MS. et. Comp. for the thought Seneca, *de Ira* II. c. xi.

*Ad periculum*, "against danger." Hand, *Turcellin.* I. p. 200.

<sup>15</sup> *inanis cultus dignitatis*, "empty parade of state."

## XXXVIII

Your empty  
pageantry  
has no  
charms for  
us: your  
shews and  
theatrical ex-  
hibitions we  
renounce,  
because of  
their perni-  
cious influ-  
ence and  
sickening  
horrors, and  
as being  
based on idol-  
worship.

<sup>16</sup> Nos igitur, qui moribus et pudore censemur, <sup>11</sup> merito malis voluptatibus et pompis vestris et spectaculis abstinemus: quorum et de sacris originem novimus et noxia blandimenta damnamus. Nam <sup>12</sup> <sup>17</sup> in ludis curulibus quis non horreat populi in se rixantis insaniam? in gladiatoriis <sup>18</sup> homicidii disciplinam? In scenicis etiam non minor furor, et turpitudo prolixior: nunc enim mimus vel exponit adulteria vel monstrat; nunc enervis histrio amorem dum fingit infligit. Idem deos vestros <sup>19</sup> induendo <sup>13</sup> stupra, suspiria, odia, dedecorat. Idem simulatis doloribus lacrymas vestras vanis gestibus et nutibus provocat. Sic homicidium in vero flagitatis, in mendacio fletis.

<sup>1</sup> Quod vero sacrificiorum reliquias et pocula

<sup>16</sup> nos qui moribus et pudore censemur etc. "we who rank by our morals and chastity, with just cause refrain from sinful delights, and (in particular) from your processions and public shews; not only as knowing they originate with your religion, but as condemning their baneful allurements." See ch. xii. § 5, and comp. Lactantius, *D.I.* vi. 20, § 33, sqq.

<sup>17</sup> in ludis curulibus, h. e. circensis. Populi in se rixantis insaniam: propter quatuor factiones panno et coloribus distinctas. Vide Plinii ix. *Epist.* 6. Et jam Tertullianus advera. *Marcion.* ii. c. 27, illud immoderatum stadium populi furorem vocat. **CELLARIUS.** For further testimony, see *Juv. Sat.* iii. 223,

si potes avelli Circensis.

also *Sat.* vi. 87; viii. 57, 118; x. 79; xi. 53, 193 foll.; xiv. 262; Plin. *Epist.* ix. 6.

<sup>18</sup> homicidii disciplina, "a school

of murder :" Cyprian, *ad Donat.* i. quoted by Elmenhorst: *Disciplina* est ut quis perimere possit, et gloria est quod perimit.

<sup>19</sup> *induendo*, by investing them, i. e. the gods, with, i. e. ascribing to them.

Ch. XXXVIII. <sup>1</sup> quod vero sacrificiorum reliquias. In reference to Cœcilius' remark, ch. xii. § 6.

<sup>2</sup> *assertio*, "vindication."

<sup>3</sup> *inviolabile Dei munus.* 1 *Timoth.* iv. 4: οτι ταν κτισμα θεον καλδν και οβδην απόβλητον μετα ευχαριστιας λαμβανομενον: *Rom.* xiv. 14. foll.

<sup>4</sup> *abstinemus.* Compare the remarks of S. Paul, 1 *Cor.* x. 18. foll.

<sup>5</sup> *cedere.* Libertatis est non cedere: Christiani, soli *Deo cedere*, ch. xxxvii. 1. **LINDNER.**

<sup>6</sup> *quidquid aliud in floribus*, i. q. *quicquid aliud florum*, "whatever other flowers."

delibata contemnimus; non confessio timoris est, **xxxviii.**  
**2** sed veræ libertatis <sup>2</sup>adsertio. Nam etsi omne quod  
 nascitur, ut <sup>3</sup>inviolabile Dei munus, nullo opere  
 corrumpitur: <sup>4</sup>abstinemus tamen, ne quis existimet  
 aut dæmoniis, quibus libatum est, <sup>5</sup>cedere aut nos-  
 træ religionis pudore.

**3** Quis autem ille, qui dubitat vernis indulgere Our use of  
 nos floribus, quum capiamus et rosam veris et lilium flowers is quite  
 et <sup>6</sup>quidquid aliud in floribus blandi coloris et odo- natural: we  
 ris est? his enim et sparsis utimur <sup>7</sup>mollibus ac mock not our  
**4** solutis et sertis colla complectimur. Sane quod dead with a  
<sup>8</sup>caput non coronamus, ignoscite. <sup>9</sup>Auram boni floris fading gar-  
 naribus ducere, non occipitio capillisve solemus land, but  
**5** haurire. <sup>10</sup>Nec mortuos coronamus. Ego vos in wait for one  
 hoc magis miror, quemadmodum tribuat <sup>11</sup>exanimi hopes of our  
 nea.

<sup>7</sup> *mollibus*, "delicate."

*Solutis et sertis*, "loose and set in a garland." See ch. xii. § 10.

<sup>8</sup> *caput non coronamus*. The Christians forbade the use of crowns of every sort, especially for the head, because of their connexion with idolatry. See Tertullian, *de Cor.* c. vii: Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* ii. 8: *εἵργονται στεφάνων οἱ τῷ λόγῳ παιδαγωγούμενοι*: οὐχ ὅτι κωμαστικῆς ἀγερωχλᾶς σύμβολον διερέφανος εἴη· ἀλλὰ γάρ ὅτι τοῖς εἰδώλοις κατωνόμασται; and again: εἰ γάρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μὲν δι' ἀνθρωπὸν γέγονε τὰ δύνθ' ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἀνόητοι λαβόντες οὐκ εἰς τὴν ιδίαν εὐχάριστον χρῆσιν ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τῶν δαιμονίων διχάριστον ὑπηρεσίαν κατεχρήσαντο· ἀφεκτέον αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν συνειδησιν. Comp. Justin M. *Apol.* ii. p. 57; Cyprian, *de Lapis*, p. 122.

<sup>9</sup> *auram boni floris*, i. e. odo-

rem. So Lactantius, *D. I.* iii. xvii.

**11:** *exiguam veritatis auram*. To the same purpose Lucian, in the person of *Nigrinus*, (*de Mor. Phil.* p. 24): εἰ γάρ τοι τῇ πνοῇ τῶν ιων τε καὶ ρόδων χαίρουσιν, ὑπὸ τῇ φύῃ μάλιστα αὐτοῦς ἐχρῆν στέφεσθαι παρ' αὐτήν εἰς οἰόν τε τὴν διατονήν; Tertull. *Apol.* c. xlii: nos coronam naribus novimus: viderint qui per capillum odorantur.

<sup>10</sup> *nec mortuos coronamus*. [ὡς τὸν βίον διηγενισμένους: Suidas in μελιττοῦτα. J. GR.] We read in Cicero, (*de Legg.* ii. 24), that the use of longæ corona was forbid in funerals: hence we conclude that others were allowed. Comp. Plin. *N. H.* c. xxi. 3; Tertullian, *de Coron.* c. x: Clem. Alex. l. c.: ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καταστεφανοῦσι· φλόγῳ καὶ τὰ εἰδώλα, ἔργῳ προσμαρτυροῦντες αὐτοὺς τὸ εἶναι νεκροῖς.

<sup>11</sup> *exanimi aut non sentienti fa-*

**XXXVIII.** aut non sentienti facem aut non sentienti coronam; quum et beatus non egeat, et miser non gaudeat floribus. At enim nos exsequias adornamus eadem 6 tranquillitate qua vivimus; nec adnectimus arescentem coronam, sed a Deo æternis floribus vividam <sup>12</sup>sustinemus, <sup>13</sup>qui et modesti, Dei nostri liberalitate securi <sup>14</sup>in spem futuræ felicitatis fide præsentis ejus majestatis animamur. Sic et beati resurgimus et futuri contemplatione <sup>15</sup>jam vivimus.

Thus we rise above those among you, who pine themselves upon their superior wisdom and virtue: but whose lives give the lie to

Proinde <sup>16</sup>Socrates scurra Atticus <sup>17</sup>viderit, nihil 7 se scire confessus, testimonio licet fallacissimi dæmonis gloriosus: <sup>18</sup>Arcesilas quoque et Carneades et Pyrrho et omnis Academicorum multitudo deliberauit: <sup>19</sup>Simonides etiam in perpetuum comperen-

*aut non sentienti coronam*, "that you should bestow upon a lifeless man a torch, when he has no feeling, or a chaplet of flowers when he has no more feeling for it than he has for the other." Linduer and others omit the first *non* taking the argument to be: "Exanimis aut non sentit aut sentit: si sentit, cur illi facem subjicitis; si non sentit, cur coronam tribuitis?" I should be better satisfied with the omission of the words, *aut non sentienti facem*, altogether.

<sup>12</sup> *sustinemus*, i. q. *expectamus*, "wait for." This sense of the verb is found commonly in late Latinity, e. g. Tertullian, *Apol.* xxxv: *de Pænit.* c. vi: *veniam delictorum sustinere: adv. Judæ.* c. vi. etc. In the Vulgate *μένειν*, *ὑπομένειν* are constantly translated by it: as *Tobias* v. 9: *ὑπόμενόν με καὶ ἐρῶ τῷ πατρί.* *Vulg. sustine me, obsecro, donec et ipsa nuntiem patri*

*meo*: *Math.* xxvi. 38; *μένετε ὁδε* *sustinetē heic*: *Acts* xx. 5: *ἔμενον οἵας ἐν Τρῳάδι*: *sustinerunt nos Troade.*

<sup>13</sup> MS. *qui et. Al. quieti.*

<sup>14</sup> *in spem*. MS. *spem*; which, if it be retained, must be governed of *sustinemus*. The correction is due to Davies.

<sup>15</sup> *jam vivimus*, scilicet *beati*.

<sup>16</sup> *Socrates scurra Atticus*; "The Athenian buffoon." In allusion to Cicero, *N. D.* i. c. 34: *Zeno quidem (i. e. Epicureus, non Stoicus; v. Bue nemann ad Lactant. vi. 20. 16) non eos solum, qui tum erant Apollodorum Sylleum ceterosque fibebat maledictis: sed Socratem ipsum parentem philosophiæ, Latino verbo utens, scurram Atticum fuisse dicebat.* See ch. xiii. 1.

<sup>17</sup> *viderit*, "let him look to himself;" or, let him well consider of it. The expression is a favourite one with Tertullian. See the observation

dinet : philosophorum supercilia contemnimus, quos **xxxix.**  
<sup>20</sup> corruptores et adulteros novimus et tyrannos et  
8 semper <sup>21</sup>adversus sua vitia facundos. Nos non  
habitu sapientiam sed mente p̄ſerimus: <sup>22</sup>non elo-  
quimur magna sed vivimus : gloriamur nos conse-  
quutos, quod illi summa intentione quæsiverunt nec  
9 invenire potuerunt. Quid ingrati sumus ? <sup>23</sup>quid  
nobis invidemus, si veritas divinitatis nostri tem-  
poris ætate maturuit ? Fruamur bono nostro et  
recti sententiam temperemus: cohabeatur super-  
sticio, impietas expietur, vera religio reservetur.

Quum Octavius perorasset, aliquamdiu nos ad **EPILOGUM**  
silentium stupefacti intentos vultus tenebamus : et,  
quod ad me est, magnitudine admirationis <sup>1</sup>evanui,

their pro-  
fessions ;  
who in de-  
fault of arti-  
culate utter-  
ances from  
heaven,  
sought in  
vain for that  
truth, which  
has been re-  
vealed to us  
in these latter  
days ; and this  
is a revelation  
which should  
move us to  
infinite grati-  
tude.

of Woodham, *Apolog.* c. xvi. p. 55.

<sup>18</sup> *Arcesilas, etc.* See ch. xiii. 3.  
*Deliboret*, i. q. dubitet: see note  
on ch. xxxv. 4, and comp. ch. xvi. 2.

<sup>19</sup> *Simonides*, ch. xiii. 4.

<sup>20</sup> *corruptores*, sunt virginum,  
sicut adulteri maritarum aut puerorum.  
Lactant. I. 10, 12. Tertullian,  
*Apol.* c. xlii. LINDNER. On the hy-  
pocrisy of the philosophers see the  
testimony of Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. v. 9  
and v. 20 : A. Gellius, *N. A.* xiii. 8;  
Athenag. *Supplic.* p. 12 : Lactant.  
*Div. Inst.* iii. 15; iv. 24.

<sup>21</sup> *adversus sua vitia facundos*,  
“eloquent declaimers against vices,  
of which themselves are guilty.”  
Lindner says, ad ea excusanda;  
and he quotes a passage of Seneca  
preserved by Lactantius, iii. 15, § 11,  
which is apposite enough: “quosdam  
“neq; pudor vitorum tenet sed pa-  
“trocinia turpitudini suæ fingunt, ut  
“etiam honeste peccare videantur.”  
But the translation here given ap-

pears the most obvious, and it cor-  
responds with the words of *Tertul-  
lian*, *Apol.* xxxix: leno philosophus  
et censor. HAILES.

<sup>22</sup> *non eloquimur magna sed vi-  
vimus*, “we talk not great things,  
but we live them:” i. e. our excel-  
lence is not in mighty words but  
in deeds. There is a like expression  
in Origen *c. Celsum*, ii. p. 101, ed.  
Spencer: οὐκ ἐν λέξεσιν ἀλλ' ἐν  
πράγμασιν μεγαλοφωνίᾳ. HAILES.  
Comp. Athenag. *Supplic.* c. xxviii:  
οὐ γάρ ἐν μελέτῃ λόγων ἀλλ' ἐπι-  
δεῖται καὶ διδασκαλίς ἔργων τὰ  
ημέτερα. See also Bunsen's *Hip-  
polytus*, Vol. iv. p. 130, note 15.

<sup>23</sup> *quid nobis invidemus si etc.*  
“why do we not congratulate our-  
selves that true notions about God-  
head, (or divine truth) have received  
their full development in our days?”

Ch. XXXIX. <sup>1</sup> *evanui etc.*, “I  
was lost in the intensity of my ad-  
miration.”

CAP. XL. quod ea, quæ facilius est sentire quam dicere, et argumentis et exemplis et lectionum auctoritatibus adornasset: et quod malevolos iisdem illis quibus armantur philosophorum telis retudisset, ostendisset etiam veritatem non tantummodo facilem, sed et favorablem.

Dum isthæc igitur apud me tacitus revolvo, <sup>1</sup> Cæcilius <sup>1</sup>erupit: Ego Octavio meo <sup>2</sup>plurimum quantum sed et mihi gratulor, nec exspecto <sup>3</sup>sententiam. <sup>4</sup>Vicimus; et ita haud improbe usurpo victoriam. Nam ut ille mei vitor est, ita ego <sup>2</sup>triumphator erroris. Itaque quod pertineat ad summam questionis, et <sup>5</sup>de providentia fateor et <sup>6</sup>Deo cedo et de sectæ jam nostræ sinceritate consentio. Etiam nunc tamen aliqua consubsidunt <sup>3</sup>non obstrepentia veritati, sed perfectæ institutioni necessaria: de quibus <sup>7</sup>crastino, quod jam sol oc-

Ch. XL. <sup>1</sup>erupit. See ch. xvi.  
§ 6, note.

<sup>2</sup> plurimum quantum. See ch. xxii. § 1. After plurimum quantum the MS. has the following words: *eadem tranquillitate, qua vivimus*, which appear to be an accidental repetition, due to a transcriber, of the words in ch. 38. § 6. Oehler however attempts to make sense out of them by altering them into *ea de tranquillitate qua uti vidimus*.

*Sed et mihi*, “and not only Cæcilius, but also myself.”

<sup>3</sup> sententiam, “the verdict of the umpire.”

<sup>4</sup> vicimus, et ita etc.: “I am victorious; and for this reason it is not impudently that I arrogate victory

to myself.”

*ita haud improbe*. [MS. *ita ut*, scriptum neglecta iteratione vocalis *a*, quum deberet esse *ita aut pro ita haud improbe*. J. G.B.]

<sup>5</sup> de providentia fateor, “I acknowledge the truth about Providence.”

<sup>6</sup> Deo cedo, “I profess submission to God,” the characteristic of a Christian, ch. xxxvii. 1. Comp. Seneca, *Benef.* v. 3: “*victorem facit vox cedentis et tradere jubentis*”; sc. manus.

<sup>7</sup> *crastino*, sc. die: comp. above, ch. xxii. 11. *Ut de toto*, “as on an entire subject.” Comp. Balduin. *Dissert.* c. xxv. p. 23.

casui declivis est, ut de toto congruentius, promptius requiremus. CAP.XLI.

At ego, inquam, prolixius omnium nostrum vice gaudeo, quod etiam Octavius mihi vicerit, quum maxima judicandi mihi invidia detracta sit. Nec tamen possum meritum ejus verborum laudibus repensare; testimonium <sup>1</sup>et hominis et unius infirmum est. Habet Dei munus eximum, a quo et inspiratus <sup>2</sup>oravit et obtinuit adjutus.

Post hæc læti hilaresque discessimus, Cæcilius quod crediderit: Octavius <sup>3</sup>gaudere quod vicerit: ego et quod hic crediderit et hic vicerit.

Ch. XLI. <sup>1</sup> et hominis et unius,  
“of one man, and indeed of man at  
all.”

<sup>2</sup> oravit, i. q. peroravit, “plead-

ed.” *Obtinuit*, sc. causam, “has pre-  
vailed.”

<sup>3</sup> gaudere, i. e. ad gauden-  
dum.

ΑΡΧΗΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΗΟΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΝ.



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**THASCII CAECILII CYPRIANI**

**LIBER**

***DE IDOLORUM VANITATE.***

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**CYPRIANUS** quod idola dii non sint qua brevitate, qua historiarum omnium scientia, quorum verborum et sensuum splendore perstrinxit?—**HIERON.** *Epist. LXXXIV. ad Magnum Orat. Rom.*

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**Episcopus CYPRIANUS** de uno vero Deo, adversus multorum deorum falsorumque cultores disputans, multa profert testimonia de libris eorum, quos præclaros autores habent, hoc est, ex illa veritate, quam iniquitate detinent.—**AUGUSTINUS,** *Lib. de Unic. Bapt. contr. Petil. Episc. Constant. cap. 4.*

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# THASCIUS CÆCILIUS CYPRIANUS

## *DE IDOLORUM VANITATE.*

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*Quod idola dii non sint; et quod Deus unus sit; et quod per Christum salus credentibus data sit.*

DEOS non esse quos colit vulgus hinc notum CAP. I.  
The gods  
whom the  
vulgar wor-  
ship really  
no gods. est: <sup>a</sup>reges olim fuerunt, qui ob regalem memoriam coli apud suos postmodum etiam in <sup>b</sup>morte cœperunt. Inde illis instituta templa, inde <sup>c</sup>ad defunctorum vultus per imaginem detinendos expressa simulacra: et immolabant hostias et dies festos tanto honore celebrabant. Inde posteris facta sunt sacra quæ primis fuerant ad sumpta solatia. Et videamus an sit et hæc apud singulos veritas. Melicertes et Leucothea præcipitantur in maria et fiunt postmodum maris numina: <sup>b</sup>Castores alternis moriuntur ut vivant. <sup>b</sup>Esculapius ut in Deum surgat fulminatur. Hercules ut hominem exuat Oetæis ignibus concrematur. Apollo Admeto pecus pavit. Laomedonti <sup>c</sup>muros Neptunus instituit, nec mercedem operis infelix structor accepit. Antrum Jovis in Creta <sup>d</sup>visitur, et sepulcrum ejus ostenditur et ab eo <sup>e</sup>Sa-

<sup>a</sup> 20, 5.  
<sup>b</sup> 21, 16.  
<sup>c</sup> 22, 5.  
<sup>d</sup> 22, 12.  
<sup>e</sup> 22, 9.

Ch. I. § 3. *Melicertes et Leucothea.* Hyginus, *fab.* ii: “Ino cum Melicerte filio suo in mare se præcipitavit: quam Liber Leucotheam voluit appellari: nos matrem Matutinam dicimus: Melicertem autem

Denum Palæmonem, quem nos Portunnum dicimus.” Ino autem Liberi sive Bacchi nutrix fingitur. Adde Lactantium Lib. i. cap. xxi, § 23. **CELLARIUS.**

**CAP. I.** turnum fugatum esse manifestum est; inde Latium de latebra ejus nomen accepit. Hic litteras imprimere, hic signare nummos in Italia primus instituit; inde ærarium Saturni vocatur. Et rusticitatis hic cultor fuit; inde falx ferens pingitur. Hunc fugatum hospitio Janus exceperat; de cuius nomine Janiculum dictum est, et mensis Januarius institutus est. <sup>a</sup>Ipse bifrons exprimitur, quod in medio constitutus annum incipientem pariter et recedentem spectare videatur. <sup>b</sup>Mauri vero manifeste reges colunt, nec ullo velamento hoc nomen obtexunt.

**CAP. II.** Great variety of practice among various nations. <sup>c</sup>Inde per gentes et provincias singulas varia deorum religio mutatur, dum non unus ab omnibus Deus colitur, sed propria cuique majorum suorum cultura servatur. Hoc ita esse <sup>d</sup>Alexander magnus insigni volumine ad matrem suam scribit, metu suæ potestatis proditum sibi de diis hominibus a sacerdote secretum, quod majorum et regum memoria servata sit; inde colendi et sacrificandi ritus inoleverit. <sup>e</sup>Si autem aliquando dii nati sunt, cur non hodie quoque nascuntur? Nisi si forte Ju-

<sup>f</sup> 4. *rusticitalis*, i. q. *vita rusticana*.

Ch. II. § 1. *cultura*, i. q. *cultus*.

§ 3. *nisi si forte Jupiter sensit.*

Ex Felicis cap. xxiii. § 4 deproprium.

Addo huic argumento judicium Plinii Lib. II. cap. vii. de diis

pagani: Matrimonia inter Deos credi tantoque sevo ex his neminem

nasci, et alias esse grandevos semper canosque, alias juvenes atque

pueros, atri coloris, aligeros, clandos,

ovo editos et alternis diebus viventes monentesque puerilium prope deliramentorum est. Sed super omnem impudentiam, adulteria inter ipsos fingi: mox jurgia et odia: atque etiam furorum esse et scelerum numero. *CELLARIUS*.

§ 5. *provenit*, "succeeded."

§ 7. *Viduus Deus*. Quis omnia ridicula Deorum nomina enarrabit?

Talis et Scansus est, qui subsequitur

§ 8: Tales ceteri divi diverse.

4 piter senuit, aut partus in Junone defecit. <sup>d</sup> Cur CAP. II.  
 vero deos putas pro Romanis posse, quos videas <sup>a</sup> 25, 7.  
 nihil pro suis adversus eorum arma valuisse? <sup>e</sup> Ro. <sup>b</sup> 25, 8.  
 5 manorum enim vernaculos deos novimus. Est  
 'Romulus pejerante Proculo deus factus, et <sup>c</sup> Pi- <sup>f</sup> 23, 2.  
 cus, et Tiberinus, et Pilumnus, et Consus, quem <sup>g</sup> 25, 8.  
 deum fraudis, velut consiliorum deum, coli Romu-  
 lus voluit, postquam in raptum Sabinarum perfidia  
 6 provenit. Deam quoque <sup>h</sup> Cloacinam Tatius et in- <sup>i</sup> 25, 8.  
 venit et coluit, Pavorem Hostilius atque Pallorem.  
 Mox a nescio quo Febris dedicata, et Acca et Flora  
 7 meretrices. [In tantum vero deorum vocabula apud  
 Romanos finguntur, ut sit apud illos Viduus deus,  
 qui anima corpus viduet, qui quasi feralis et fune-  
 bris intra muros non habetur, sed foris collocatur,  
 et nihilominus, quia extorris factus, damnatur potius  
 8 Romana religione quam colitur. Est et Scansus  
 ab ascensibus dictus, et Forculus a foribus, et a  
 liminibus Limentinus, et Cardea a cardinibus, et ab  
 9 orbitatibus Orbona.] Hi dii Romani. <sup>i</sup> Ceterum <sup>j</sup> 25, 10.  
 Mars Thracius, et Jupiter Creticus, et Juno vel  
 Argiva vel Samia, vel Poena, et Diana Taurica, et

Multos et paene innumeros nar-  
 runt alli Arnobius, Lib. iv. p. 131 :  
 Lactantius, Lib. i. cap. xx; Augus-  
 tinus, Civ. Dei, Lib. iv. cap. viii,  
 nec vero complecti omnes potue-  
 runt. **CELLARIUS.**

§ 8. et *Forculus a foribus*. Au-  
 gustinus, de Civ. Dei, iv. 8 extr.:  
 "Unum quisque domui sue ponit  
 ostiarium, et quia homo est, omnino  
 sufficit. Tres deos isti posuerunt,  
*Forculum foribus, Cardeam cardini,*  
*Limentinum limini.* Ita non potuit

*Forculus simul fore et cardinem  
 limenque servare."* Adde Tertulli-  
 anum, de Corona, cap. xiii. extr.  
**CELLARIUS.**

*ab orbitatibus Orbona.* Plinius,  
 Lib. ii. cap. vii. Fanum dicatum  
 est Orbona ad sedem Larium, et ara  
 Male Fortune Exequilia. Et Arno-  
 bius, Lib. iv. pag. 131, clarus: In  
 tutela sunt Orbona orbati liberis  
 parentes: in Neniz, quibus extre-  
 ma sunt tempora. **CELLARIUS.**

**CAP. II.** deorum mater Idæa, et *Ægyptia* portenta, non numina : <sup>k</sup> quæ utique si quid potestatis habuissent, sua ac suorum regna servassent. Plane sunt apud 10 Romanos et victi Penates, quos *Aeneas* profugus ad-  
vexit. Est et Venus calva multo hic turpius calva  
<sup>l</sup> quam apud Homerum <sup>1</sup> vulnerata.

**CAP. III.** Regna autem non merito accidentunt, sed sorte 1 variantur. <sup>a</sup> Ceterum imperium ante tenuerunt et Assyrii et Persæ, et Græcos et *Ægyptios* regnasse cognovimus. Ita vicibus potestatum Romanis quoque variantibus ut et ceteris imperandi tempus ob-  
venit. Ceterum si ad originem redeas erubescas. <sup>2</sup> <sup>b</sup> Populus de sceleratis et nocentibus congregatur et asylo constituto facit numerum impunitas criminum. Nunc ut rex ipse principatum habeat ad crimina, fit <sup>3</sup> Romulus parricida : atque ut <sup>c</sup> matrimonium faciant, rem concordiæ per discordias auspicantur. Rapiunt, ferociunt, fallunt ad copiam civitatis augendam. Nuptiæ sunt illis rupta hospitii fœdera et cum saceris bella crudelia. Est et gradus summus in <sup>4</sup> Romanis honoribus consulatus : sic consulatum cœ-  
pissemus videmus ut regnum. Filios interficit Brutus, ut crescat de suffragio sceleris commendatio digni-  
tatis. Non ergo de religionibus sanctis, nec de <sup>5</sup> auspiciis aut auguriis Romana regna creverunt ; sed

§ 10. *victi Penates.* Virgilius  
de *Aenea*, Lib. i. 72 :

Illi in Italiam portans vicosque Penates.

LINDNER.

est et Venus multo hic turpius  
Calva. Vide Lactantium, Lib. i.  
cap. xx. § 27. et Vegetum Lib. iv.  
cap. ix. Ex Corbeiensi codice MS.

emendatio. Adi Rigaltium. CELLAR.

Ch. III. § 4. *Filios interficit*  
*Brutus.* L. Junius Brutus, primus  
consul. Adi Livium, Lib. ii. cap. v.  
Etiam Virgilius attingit Lib. vi.  
vers. 819 :

Consulis imperium hic primus sevusque  
secures

6 acceptum tempus certo fine custodiunt. Ceterum CAP. III.  
 et <sup>a</sup> Regulus auspicia servavit, et captus est: et <sup>a</sup> 26, 2.  
 Mancinus religionem tenuit, et sub jugum missus  
 est. Pullos edaces Paullus habuit, et apud Can-  
 nas tamen cæsus est. C. Cæsar ne ante brumam  
 in Africam navigia transmitteret auguriis et auspi-  
 ciis renitentibus, sprevit, et eo facilius et navigavit  
 7 et vicit. Horum autem omnium ratio est illa quæ  
 fallit et decipit, et præstigiis cæcantibus veritatem  
 8 stultum et prodigum vulgus inducit: <sup>e</sup> spiritus in- • 26, 7.  
 sinceri et vagi, qui posteaquam terrenis vitiis im-  
 mersi sunt, et a vigore cœlesti terreno contagio  
 recesserunt, non desinunt perditii perdere et de-  
 1 pravati errorem pravitatis infundere. Hos et poetæ CAP. IV.  
 dæmonas norunt; et <sup>a</sup> Socrates instrui se et regi  
 ad arbitrium dæmonis prædicabat. Et magis inde <sup>The dæmons  
known to be  
such by poets  
and philoso-  
phers.</sup>  
 est ad perniciosa vel ludicra potentatus; quorum <sup>a</sup> 26, 8.  
 tamen præcipuus <sup>b</sup> Hostanes et formam veri Dei <sup>b</sup> 26, 10.  
 negat conspici posse, et angelos veros sedi ejus  
 2 dicit adsistere. In quo et <sup>c</sup> Plato pari ratione con- <sup>c</sup> 19, 17.  
 sentit, et unum Deum servans, ceteros angelos vel <sup>c</sup> 26, 11.  
 dæmonas dicit. Hermes quoque Trismegistus unum  
 Deum loquitur, eumque incomprehensibilem atque  
 3 inæstimabilem confitetur. <sup>d</sup> Hi ergo spiritus sub <sup>d</sup> 27, 1.  
 statuis atque imaginibus consecratis delitescunt;

Accipiet; natosque pater nova bella mo-  
 ventes  
 Ad pœnam pulchra pro libertate vocabit  
 Infelix.

CELLARIUS,

§ 6. acceptum tempus certo fine  
 custodiunt, videlicet tempus sibi as-

signatum, fine fixo ac determinato  
 regna Romana habent. ROUTH.

§ 7. *prodigum*, fort. prodi-  
 tum. ROUTH.

Ch. IV. § 1. *veros*. Fortasse  
 olim in *veros* corrupta est vox *ser-  
 vos*. ROUTH.

CAP. IV. hi adflatu suo vatum pectora inspirant, extorum fibras animant, avium volatus gubernant, sortes regunt, oracula efficiunt, falsa veris semper involvunt, <sup>27, 2, 3.</sup> nam et falluntur, et fallunt, vitam turbant, <sup>4</sup> somnos inquietant. Inrepentes etiam spiritus in corporibus occulte mentes terrent, membra distorquent, valetudinem frangunt, morbos lacescant ut ad cultum sui cogant, ut nidore altarium et rogis pecorum saginati, remissis quæ constrinxerant curasse videantur. <sup>27, 3.</sup> *Hæc est de illis medela, quum illorum 5 cessat injuria: nec aliud illis studium est quam a Deo homines avocare et ad superstitionem sui ab intellectu verae religionis avertere; quum sint ipsi pœnales, quærere sibi ad pœnam comites quos ad crimen suum fecerint terrore participes.* Hi tamen 6 adjurati per Deum verum a nobis, statim cedunt, et fatentur et de obsessis corporibus exire coguntur. Videas illos nostra voce et operatione majestatis occulte flagris cædi, igne torri, incremento pœnæ propagantis extendi, ejulare, gemere, deprecari; unde veniant et quando discedant ipsis etiam qui se colunt audientibus confiteri; et vel exsiliunt statim, vel evanescunt gradatim, prout fides patientis adjuvat aut gratia curantis adspirat. Hinc vulgus in odium nostri nominis cogunt, ut nos 8

§ 5. *ad superstitionem sui.* Hec est, dæmonum; supra scripsit auctor, *ad cultum sui.*

*Pœnales, pœna digni.* Salvianus de Gubern. Dei, Lib. vi. p. 220: *sclera penaliora.* Nec veteri auctoritate verbum caret. Plinius, Lib. xviii. cap. xi. *Tunditur alica pilo,*

*vinctorum pœnali opera, id est opera, que pœna loco est.* Sic Prudentius in Laurentio, vers. 193. dixit *pœnali labor, de damnatis in me-talla.* CELLARIUS.

Ch. V. § 2. See the poetical account in Statius, *Thebaid.* i. v. 35; and xii. vv. 431, 432.

odisse incipient homines antequam nosse; ne cog- CAP. V.  
 nitos aut imitari possint aut damnare non possint.  
 Unus igitur omnium Dominus est Deus: neque enim <sup>The unity of</sup>  
 illa sublimitas potest habere consortem, quum sola  
 omnem teneat potestatem. Ad divinum imperium  
<sup>2</sup> etiam de terris mutuemur exemplum. Quando 18, 5.  
 umquam regni societas aut cum fide cœpit aut sine  
 cruento desiit? Sic Thebanorum germanitas rupta,  
 et permanens rogis dissidentibus etiam in morte dis-  
 cordia. Et Romanos geminos unum non capit reg-  
<sup>3</sup> num, quos unum uteri cepit hospitium. Pompeius  
 et Cæsar affines fuerunt, nec tamen necessitudinis  
<sup>4</sup> foedus in æmula potestate tenuerunt. Nec hoc tan-  
 tum de homine mireris, quum in hoc omnis natura  
 consentiat. <sup>a</sup> Rex unus est apibus, et dux unus in <sup>18, 7.</sup>  
 gregibus, et in armentis rector unus. Multo magis  
 mundi unus est rector, qui universa quæcumque  
 sunt verbo jubet, ratione dispensat, virtute con-  
<sup>5</sup> summat. <sup>b</sup> Hic nec videri potest, visu clarior est, <sup>b</sup> 18, 8.  
 nec comprehendendi, tactu purior est, nec aestimari,  
 sensu major est. Et ideo sic eum digne aestimamus,  
<sup>6</sup> dum inestimabilem dicimus. <sup>c</sup> Quod vero templum <sup>32, 1.</sup>  
 habere possit Deus cuius templum totus est mun-  
 dus? et quum homo latius maneat, intra unam aedi-  
 culam vim tantæ majestatis includam? <sup>d</sup> In nostra <sup>d</sup> 32, 2.

§ 6. quum homo latius maneat.  
 Minucius, cap. xxxii. § 1. quum  
 homo laxius maneam. Sic ibi cum  
 Fulvio Ursino expressimus, quia Ci-  
 cero, quem imitari solet Minucius,  
*habitare laxe*, pro domo sua cap.  
 xlvi. dixit. Codices vero omnes Cy-  
 priani, si transcripsit Felicem, præ

se *latius* ferant, ut dubitare inci-  
 piam, an nec prior ille *latius*, ut Sa-  
 bæus et Fr. Balduinus legunt, scrip-  
 serit. **CELLARIUS.** Routh prefers  
*laxius* in both writers, referring to  
 a passage in Lactantius in support:  
*de Mortibus Persecutorum*, cap. xviii.

CAP. V. dedicandus est mente, in nostro consecrandus est pectore. <sup>a</sup> Nec nomen Deo quæras. Deus nomen 7 est illi. Illic vocabulis opus est ubi propriis adpellationum insignibus multitudo dirimenda est. Deo, qui solus est, DEI vocabulum totum est. Ergo 32, 7. unus est, et <sup>b</sup> ubique ipse diffusus est. Nam et 8 <sup>c</sup> 18, 11. <sup>d</sup> vulgus in multis Deum naturaliter confitetur, quum mens et anima sui Auctoris et Principis admonetur. Dici frequenter audimus, O Deus, et Deus videt, et Deo commendo, et, Deus tibi reddat; et quod yult Deus et si Deus dederit. Atque hæc est 9 <sup>e</sup> 17, 3. summa delicti, nolle agnoscere <sup>f</sup> quem ignorare non possis.

CAP. VI. Quod vero Christus sit, et quomodo per ipsum nobis salus venerit, sic est ordo, sic ratio. <sup>The economy of the Christian religion.</sup>

<sup>g</sup> 33, 4. <sup>h</sup> Judæis primum erat apud Deum gratia. Sic olim justi erant, sic majores eorum religionibus obediebant. Inde illis et regni sublimitas floruit, et genesis magnitudo provenit. Sed illi [negligentes et] indisciplinati et superbi postmodum facti, et fiducia patrum inflati, dum divina præcepta contemnunt, datam sibi gratiam perdiderunt. Quam vero fuerit 3 illis prophana vita, quæ contracta sit violatæ religionis offensa, ipsi quoque testantur, qui etsi vocet tacent, exitu confitentur. Dispersi et palabundi vagantur, soli et cœli sui profugi per hospitia aliena jactantur. Nec non Deus ante prædixerat fore ut 4 *Amos ix. 11.  
Hosch. ii. 21.  
Isaias xliii. 1.*

§ 7. *Dei vocabulum totum est.* Obscurius dictum. 1 Cor. i. 24; 1 Joh. i. 14; Luc. ii. 32. Fortasse pro *totum* rescribendum *solum* est. Routh.

Ch. VI. § 3. *soli et cœli sui pro-*

*fugi.* Cum patrio casu et Plinius conexuit Lib. VII. cap. xxviii. de M. Sergio, Catilinæ proavo: bis ab Hannibale captus: bis vinculorum ejus profugus. CELLARIUS. Comp. Tertullian, *Apologet.* c. xxi. dispersi,

vergente sæculo et mundi fine jam proximo ex CAP. VI.  
 omni gente et populo et loco cultores sibi allegeret  
 Deus multo et fidei fortioris, et melioris obsequii  
 qui indulgentiam de divinis muneribus haurirent,  
 quam acceptam Judæi contemptis religionibus per-  
 didissent. Hujus igitur gratiæ disciplinæque ar-  
 biter et magister SERMO et FILIUS Dei mittitur, qui  
 per prophetas omnes retro illuminator et deductor  
 humani generis prædicabatur. Hic est virtus Dei,  
 hic ratio, hic sapientia ejus et gloria. Hic in virgi-  
 nem delabitur, carnem Spiritus Sanctus induit,  
 Deus cum homine miscetur. Hic Deus noster, hic  
 Christus est, qui mediator duorum hominem induit,  
 quem perducat ad Patrem. Quod homo est esse Hebr. ii. 17.  
 Christus voluit, ut et homo possit esse quod Chris-  
 tus est. Sciebant et Judæi Christum esse ventu-  
 rum. Nam hic illis semper prophetis admonentibus  
 adnuntiabatur. Sed significato duplii ejus adventu,  
 uno qui exercitio et exemplo hominis fungeretur,  
 altero qui Deum fateretur, non intelligendo pri-  
 mum adventum, qui in passione præcessit occultus,  
 unum tantum credunt qui erit in potestate mani-  
 festus. Quod autem hoc Judæorum populus intel-  
 ligere non potuit, delictorum meritum fuit. Sic  
 erant sapientæ et intelligentæ cæcitate multati, Isaiah vi. 9.  
Mark iv. 12.

palabundi, et cœli et soli sui extores vagantur per orbem.

§ 6. *Hic est virtus Dei.* Tertullianus *Apologet.* c. xxiii: Dei virtus et Dei Spiritus et sermo et sapientia et ratio et Dei filius. Confer et initium libri ejus *de oratione.* ROUTH.

*Carnem Spiritus Sanctus induit.* Confer *Rom.* i. 3, 4: ubi duæ naturæ Christi sic signantur. ROUTH.

§ 8. *sciebant et Judæi.* Most of this passage is borrowed from Tertullian, *Apol. ch. xxi.*

CAP. VII. ut qui vita indigni essent haberent vitam ante oculos, nec viderent.

The miracles  
of Christ, his  
passion, re-  
surrection,  
ascension,  
and hence  
the preaching  
of the gospel.

*Matth. xii. 24.*

*Matth. xxvii.  
20.*

*Acts iii. 18.*

*Luke xxiii. 5.  
Luke xi. 22.  
Isaiah lili. 8.  
Daniel ix. 26.  
Zach. iii. 7.  
Matth. xxvii.  
50; xxviii. 17.*

Itaque quum Christus Jesus, secundum prophetis ante prædicta, verbo et vocis imperio dæmonia de hominibus excuteret, paralyticos restringeret, leprosos purgaret, illuminaret cæcos, claudis gressum daret, mortuos rursus animaret, cogeret sibi elementa famulari, servire ventos, maria obedire, inferos cedere, Judæi, qui illum crediderant hominem tantum de humilitate carnis et corporis, existimabant magum de licentia potestatis. Hunc magistri eorum atque primores, hoc est, quos et doctrina ille et sapientia revincebat, accensa ira et indignatione provocati, insecuri sunt et postremo detentum Pontio Pilato, qui tunc ex parte Romana Syriam procurabat, tradiderunt, crucem ejus et mortem suffragiis violentis ac pertinacibus flagitantes. Hoc eos facturos et ipse prædixerat, et prophetarum omnium testimonium sic ante præcesserat, oportere illum pati, non ut sentiret mortem, sed ut vinceret: et quum passus

Ch. VII. § 1. *existimabant magum de licentia potestatis.* Positum est *licentia potestatis* pro eo quod est, amplitudo ejus. Tertullianus, cap. 20, *Apologeticæ*; quem igitur solummodo hominem præsumperant de humilitate, sequebatur ut magum existimarent de potestate. Tertullianum imitatus est Cyprianus, hunc vicissim Arnobius, Lib. I. c. 46. ROUTH.

§ 2. *Syriam procurabat.* Bene, *procurabat*, quia Tacitus Pontium

Pilatum *procuratorem* dixit Lib. xv. cap. xliv: minus autem vers Syriam, quæ sub legato consulari erat, nominavit; Pilatus enim Palestinas tantum, nec illi omni, sed Archelai ethnarchie in provinciam redactæ, sive Judææ et Samariæ, præfектus fuit. Josephus, Lib. II. *de Bello* cap. xiv. ineunte: περιφθεὶς δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροκος ὑπὸ Τίβεριος Πιλάτος: missus autem a Tiberio Pilatus in Judæam *procurator.* CELLARIUS. Errat noster cum

4 esset, ad superos denuo regredi, ut vim divinæ CAP. VII.  
 majestatis ostenderet. Fidem itaque rerum cursus  
 implevit. Nam et crucifixus prævento carnificis  
 officio spiritum sponte dimisit, et die tertio rursus  
 5 a mortuis sponte surrexit. Apparuit discipulis suis  
 qualis et fuerat, agnoscendum se videntibus præ-  
 buit simul junctis; et substantiæ corporalis firmi-  
 tate conspicuus, ad dies quadraginta remoratus est,  
 ut de eo ad præcepta vitalia instrui possent, et *Acta 1. 9.*  
 6 discerent quæ docerent. Tunc in cœlum circum-  
 fusa nube sublatus est; ut hominem quem dilexit,  
 quem induit, quem a morte protexit, ad Patrem  
 victor imponeret, jam venturus e cœlo ad pœnam  
 diaboli et ad censuram generis humani ultioris  
 vigore et judicis potestate; per orbem vero disci- *Mark xvi. 15.*  
 puli, magistro et Deo monente, diffusi præcepta  
 in salutem darent, ab errore tenebrarum ad viam  
 lucis adducerent, cœcos et ignaros ad agnitio-  
 7 nem veritatis ocularent. Ac ne esset probatio  
 minus solida, et de Christo delicata confessio, per  
 tormenta, per cruces, per multa pœnarum genera

Tertulliano, ecclesiæ Carthaginensis Presbytero, quem sequitur, in *Apol. cap. xxi.* sic dicentes: Ad doctrinam ejus primores Judæorum ita exasperabantur...ut postremo oblatum Pontio Pilato Syriam tunc ex parte Romana procuranti violentia suffragiorum in crux Jesum dedi sibi extorserint. **LINDNER.**

§ 4. *Nam et crucifixus etc.* From Tertullian, *Apol. c. xxi.*

§ 5. *simul junctis:* συνηθροι- σμένοις τοῖς ἔνδεκα. *Luc. xxiv. 33.*

§ 6. *ultioris vigore.* Fortasse legendum est, in ultioris. **ROUTH.** et Deo. Fortasse delendum et. In. ocularent: visum darent. Tertulliani verbum, quo magistro sepe Cyprianus usus est. Libro de *Pænitentia* cap. xii: Hirundo si excœperat pullos, novit illos *oculare* rursus de sus chelidonia. Et metaphorice libro de *Pudicitia* cap. viii. in vestibus purpura *oculandis*. **CEL- LARIUS.**

CAP. VII. tentantur. Dolor, qui veritatis testis est, admove- 8  
tur, ut Christus Dei filius, qui hominibus ad vitam  
datus creditur, non tantum præconio vocis, sed et  
passionis testimonio prædicaretur. Hunc igitur 9  
comitamur, hunc sequimur, hunc habemus itineris  
ducem, lucis principem, salutis auctorem, cœlum  
pariter et Patrem querentibus et credentibus polli-  
centem. QUOD EST CHRISTUS ERIMUS CHRISTIANI, si 10  
CHRISTUM FUERIMUS SEQUUTI.

§ 10. *Quod est Christus.* Jam gloriæ ejus participes. FELL.  
mystici corporis membra, deinceps

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C. CYPRIANI LIBER EXPLICIT.

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